DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 207 322 EC 140 370

AUTHOR Mallory, Bruce L.
TITLE The Ecology of Implementation: A Qualitative Approach to Educational Evaluation.
PUB DATE Aug 79
NOTE 258p.; Ph.D. Dissertation, George Peabody College for Teachers.

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC11 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Disabilities; Exceptional Child Research; Preschool Education; *Program Evaluation; *Program Implementation

ABSTRACT

Among seven hypotheses developed from a sociological study of implementing two federally funded early intervention programs for delayed or handicapped children are that the more centralized the program administration, the less the program will be responsive to traditional or changing community needs; and the local allocation of early intervention resources is determined by political and economic factors in those communities eligible for the resources rather than by an assessed need for such services. (CL)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED207322

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
✓ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

THE ECOLOGY OF IMPLEMENTATION: A QUALITATIVE APPROACH TO EDUCATIONAL EVALUATION

by

Bruce L. Mallory
Master of Education
Allegheny College

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of
Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in
Special Education
of
Programs for Special Educators
George Peabody College for Teachers
August 1979

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Bruce L. Mallory
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

Major Professor _____ Date _____

Minor Professor _____ Date _____

Program Director _____ Date _____

Executive Dean for
Academic Affairs _____ Date _____

EC 140 370

THE ECOLOGY OF IMPLEMENTATION: A QUALITATIVE APPROACH TO EDUCATIONAL EVALUATION

by
Bruce L. Mallory, Ph.D.
George Peabody College for Teachers
August 1979

Major Professor: Joseph Cunningham, Ed.D. Number of Words 470

Purpose

This study examines the process of implementing federally-funded early intervention programs in rural communities. Using a sociological framework based on symbolic interactionist theory, the sociology of knowledge, and the method of participant observation, the study demonstrates a qualitative approach to evaluating educational change programs. Two federally-funded programs for preschool-aged children who are handicapped or delayed are described and evaluated to determine the degree to which the programs are integrated with local social and political structures. In addition, questions are asked concerning changes in program design and intent after four years of operation, the influence of community context variables on the programs, the perceived value of the programs, and the degree of community support for the programs. The purposes of the study are to (a) generate hypotheses that could be further empirically tested through both qualitative and quantitative measures, and (b) sensitize policy makers, administrators, and researchers to the significance of ecological variables which cause a program to change after initial implementation. Community context variables examined include demographic trends, regional political structures (primarily county courts and school boards), cultural structures and

values, and historical factors. Findings are presented in the areas of program-community integration, program-community interaction, program-policy interaction, and program-family interaction. Seven hypotheses are generated at the end of the study. First, administration of early intervention programs is accomplished largely through the controlled distribution of special knowledge about the program to the staff, participating families, local political structures, and the general public. Second, the more centralized is program administration, the less the program will be responsive to traditional or changing community needs, and the integration of the program with the existing network of community services will be reduced. Third, federal early intervention policies will be adapted by local political structures to meet local needs for (a) control over program operation and determination of evaluation criteria, and (b) community support. Fourth, regardless of intended goals, centrally funded/locally administered programs are conducted so that program design is determined by perceived program needs rather than perceived client needs. Fifth, early intervention programs will serve those children and families who (a) are more politically powerful and/or vocal, (b) may be other than those for whom such programs are intended, especially where the intended population is the most vulnerable to developmental harm, (c) most easily adapt to the local design of the program in terms of family form and cultural values, and (d) are most accessible. Sixth, the local allocation of early intervention resources is determined by political and economic factors in those communities eligible for the resources rather than by an assessed need for such services. Finally, there is no difference in degree of program-community integration between programs under public school sponsorship and

those under private non-profit sponsorship. The study concludes with a discussion of implications for evaluation methodology and early intervention policy making.

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The seeds that produced this study were planted several years ago while I was a VISTA worker in New Hampshire. It was during that time that the interaction of federal policies and rural communities became a focus of observation and contemplation. The anti-poverty programs that were developed in the town I was working in were fairly well received and ran without too many problems, but they never seemed to make very much difference over the long term. Certainly people had better access to food, shelter, and jobs, but this did not assure any real changes in their economic and social status. As I lived and worked in this setting, I began to realize that there are many factors which hinder the implementation of social change programs created by a central government. Local circumstances, including economic, social, political, and historical factors, had as much to do with the effects of change efforts as the wording of legislation, program design, or system of service delivery. These early observations were strengthened over the next few years while I was director of a Head Start program in two counties and while I served as a staff researcher for the New Hampshire House of Representatives Education Committee. The dynamics of small towns and rural communities could effect the success of a program greatly, and these dynamics were related to local political structures, the cultural values of decision makers and program participants, and a community's previous experiences with social change.

Working with publicly funded programs always presents one with the question, Is it worth the tax money we put into it? As social change programs receive less federal support, we have had to turn to local sources of funds, and the same question is asked with even greater intensity. Local decision makers reflect a conservative tendency not so observable at the federal level, and are primarly concerned with how a program will contribute to their own community and their status within it. "Politics," in the sense of control of resources through self-interest, becomes a major factor in the success or failure of a program and the consideration of "hard data" of program effectiveness takes a back seat to values and interests served when it comes time to judge how well a program is fulfilling its objectives.

These emerging beliefs about the nature of program implementation generated a powerful dilemma. On what basis should social change programs be evaluated? Should we only be concerned with how well a program meets its objectives as defined in national legislation and regulations, or should we focus as well on the effects of programs on local community structures and patterns? If we only evaluate the effects of a program on individuals, we cannot understand how the program influences the community as a whole. Yet, most programs are designed so as to change individuals, thus we traditionally justify the use of tax dollars by determining how many people change as a result of what the program does to them. We have many tests that can be applied to individuals to see how much they have changed, but we cannot give a program or a community such a test. So we conduct the drunkard's search and focus on individual change, attempting to "control" the fact that individual change is dependent on the social context in which it takes place.

These initial hypotheses led me to the need for a different way of conceptualizing evaluation. Not only should we be concerned with how a program affects the "test score" of one person; we also must look at the ecology of implementation, that is, at the social/cultural context within which a program is operating. The concern shifts here from personological effects to sociological effects, and the focus broadens from micro changes in behavior to macro changes in community. The purpose of evaluation becomes to understand the context in which programs operate, the community resources available to them, and the processes of decision making as programs move from initial implementation to later stages of development (Stufflebeam, Foley, Gephart, Guba, Hammond, Merriman, & Provus, 1971). This understanding serves as the necessary prerequisite for conducting output evaluation, for the interpretation of quantitative measurements of individual change can be valid only if the context in which change occurs is first examined.

This study suggests one approach to evaluating the ecology of program implementation. The purpose of the study is to sensitize policy makers, program planners, researchers, and evaluators to the social context of programs that attempt to enhance the development of young handicapped or delayed children who live in rural areas. The focus on rural communities is an outgrowth of my experiences in the small towns of New Hampshire. These experiences have led to a skeptical concern that most policy makers, evaluators, and social scientists live within an urban intellectual and physical setting that leads to the belief that the urban world view and its problem solving methods based on rational bureaucratic structures is applicable to non-urban circumstances. My assumption has been that this view has led to centralized decision making

and blanket evaluation criteria that do not account for the particular dynamics and values of rural life. The distribution of goods, knowledge, capital, and services is guided by urban interests, and this has resulted in an inequitable distribution of power between urban and rural regions in the United States. Given these biases, the purpose of this work is not only to influence evaluation methodology and theory, it is also to affect the current social inequities faced by rural communities trying to keep apace in an increasingly complex technological society.

This study, supported in part by a student research grant from the Bureau of Education for the Handicapped, is certainly not the work of one or two people. Joe Cunningham was there first to ignite the sparks I emitted as I tried to pin down what it was I was asking. And he added kindling to keep the fire going throughout the study. Bob Newbrough and Paul Dokecki were also there to help me understand the concepts of community and family-society transactions, and to help relate those theoretical constructs to the everyday lives of individuals affected by public institutions. Always there was Nick Hobbs, whose support and faith have sustained me for three years. All of these people were quietly available during the course of the study, and to them I am personally and intellectually indebted. Of course, the responsibility for the final document is entirely my own.

Dave Glascoe was more than a research assistant. He was a companion, critic, thinker, and hard worker. This study never would have covered the scope of issues or events that it did without Dave's constant help. The sections in the study on Sabina were carried out almost entirely by him. Sue McLaughlin managed the production of this report with great devotion and speed, and to her I am very grateful.

How do I express my thanks and deep feelings of care to the many people of the Highland Region and elsewhere who were my partners and confidants (not subjects), and who opened their lives up to me with such trust? So many people seemed to enjoy explaining their culture and their own experiences to me. I became the learner, and the people of this study were my teachers. But there is an irony in this metaphor, for in the end it is I who is observing the judging them. They will not publish an "evaluation" of how I carried out this research, but this study exposes them in their complex and fallible lives. Some of those who read this may be offended or think I have been unfair or prejudiced. I accept those responses while knowing that my role as observer and chronicler is inherently subjective.

This report is dedicated to Susan and our families, past, present, and future.

Bruce L. Mallory
July 1979
Nashville, Tennessee

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
LIST OF TABLES	ix
Chapter	
I. AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM AND A REVIEW OF WHAT IS KNOWN ABOUT THE PROBLEM	1
Historical Background	6
The Guiding Questions of the Study	9
An Overview of Rural Communities	11
Social Values in Southern Appalachia	17
Social and Economic Trends in the Appalachian Region	19
Current Intervention Efforts in Appalachia	21
A Theoretical and Methodological Perspective for Evaluating the Ecology of Implementation	22
Social Variables	30
Political Variables	32
Historical Variables	34
Programmatic Variables	35
Selecting the Field Sites	36
II. THE SOCIAL CONTEXT	41
A Physical Description of the Highland Region	42
A Brief History of the Highland Region	44
Political Structures	46
County Courts	47
School Boards	60
Highland Regional Planning Agency	63
Families	76
Voluntary Organizations	83
III. DESCRIPTION OF THE FIELD SITES	90
Hickory County	90
The Early Intervention Program	93
Winchester County	98
Parent Training Project	100
Pike County	107
PTP Expansion Site	108

Chapter		Page
IV.	TECHNIQUES OF DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS	112
	Data Collection	112
	Data Analysis and Coding	120
V.	THE PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS	127
	Integration	128
	Interaction	144
	Program-Community Interaction	144
	Program-Policy Interaction	159
	Program-Family Interaction	190
VI.	ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS: IMPLICATIONS FOR EVALUATION METHODOLOGY AND POLICY MAKING	209
	Generated Hypotheses	211
	I. Distribution of Knowledge	211
	II. Locus of Control	213
	III. Local Response of External Policies	214
	IV. Identification of the Eligible Population	216
	V. Service Delivery Systems	218
	VI. Local Resource Allocation	219
	VII. Integration into Service Networks	220
	Overall Conclusions	221
	Implications for Evaluation Methodology	223
	Implications for Early Intervention Policy Making	225
EPILOGUE		232
REFERENCE NOTES		237
REFERENCES		238
APPENDIX		244

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1.	Child Development Rating Criteria	66
2.	Sources for Regional Needs Assessment	67
3.	Results of Regional Needs Assessment	68
4.	Composite Description of Families and Children Enrolled in EIP, Years I-IV	96
5.	Composite Description of Families and Children Enrolled in PTP, Years I-IV	102
6.	Primary Diagnosis for Children Enrolled in PTP	104
7.	Changes in Family Size and Income	149
8.	Federal/State Policies and Program Responses	161
9.	Average Changes in LAP Scores	200

CHAPTER I

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM AND A REVIEW OF WHAT IS KNOWN ABOUT THE PROBLEM

What factors influence the process of transforming public policy objectives into community based programs? How does a specific program change as it moves from the earliest stages of design and field testing to later stages of full operation and institutionalization? What is an appropriate methodology for evaluating this process of implementing federally initiated policies and programs in specific local communities?

Recognizing the importance of these questions is central to understanding the process of social change guided by public policy. But recognizing their importance does not lead to answers which can be applied readily to the policy making process. The traditional evaluative questions that have guided policy making have weighed costs against quantitative measurements of how people are effected by a specific program. The evaluative framework has focused on the ratio of costs to benefits, with "costs" often limited to fiscal outlays and "benefits" often limited to the observed changes that have occurred in individuals or groups as a result of the incurred costs. This mode of evaluation has grown out of the corporate ideology that serves as a model for most educational and social service policies in the United States (Katz, 1975). Schools and social change programs are intended to take raw material (inputs) in the form of young children, illiterate adults, the unemployed, the incompetent, or the socially deviant, and through a

rational and predictable process create finished products (outputs) that possess some valued social quality (education, employment, job skills, positive attitudes toward the law, etc.).

In recent years, this "black box" conception of individual change created by social institutions has been questioned. As the cost-benefit evaluation model has been applied to social change programs, researchers have been forced to reach beyond quantifiable inputs and observed outputs and include in their calculus those forces that comprise the context of change. Drawing on the work of field theorists in psychology (e.g., Lewin, 1954) and interaction theorists in sociology and anthropology (e.g., Blumer, 1969; Mead, 1934; Thomas & Znaniecki, 1927), many writers have called for qualitative, field based evaluations that seek to understand the context within which social change occurs, with less emphasis on the espoused goals and methodologies that characterize a specific program (Deutscher, 1977; Weiss, 1973; Wilson, 1977). The examination of the social context of human service programs requires a new understanding of evaluation. As the ecology of program implementation and operation is assessed, there is increasing skepticism that traditional cost-benefit analyses are sufficient for informing theory and policy making where improvement of human life is the aim.

The result of this skepticism has not been to reject attempts to quantify the effects of social change programs on individuals, but to balance product or summative evaluation with process or formative evaluation. This latter type is not a substitute for quantitative evaluation research; rather, it is a supplement to traditional research in the sense that it adds to our knowledge by illuminating those aspects of social change programs that are inaccessible to quantitative analysis. Although it is possible to represent the effects of a program in

numerical values, this provides an incomplete picture of how the program operates, who it effects, and how the community within which the program exists affects its operation. Stufflebeam (Note 1) has described the basic purpose of such evaluation:

> The objective . . . is to detect or predict, during the implementation stages, defects in the procedural design or its implementation. The over-all strategy is to identify and monitor, on a continuous basis, the potential sources of failure in the project. (n.p.)

Another consideration in evaluating social change programs is the political implications of evaluation. Most of the large-scale social reform efforts that have occurred since the New Deal have been funded with public monies. Beginning in the 1960s, as the Vietnam War began to compete with social service allocations, evaluation became a mandatory (although often unfunded) component of social legislation. Most of the initial evaluation studies focused on changes in individuals' cognitive or affective status, and used standardized measures of ability or aptitude as their yardsticks (e.g., Cicarelli, 1969). The purpose of these evaluations is exemplified in a popular myth that Sargent Shriver, first director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, once asked how much it cost to raise a Head Start child's IQ by one point. The lesson of the evaluations of the late 1960s was that negative findings would be criticized vehemently for methodological weaknesses, overly-narrow definitions of goals, and a lack of consideration for ecological influences on program operation and results. And, negative findings did not lead to the termination of social change programs. Other factors such as political support, expressed demand, and an absence of alternative strategies led to the continuation of programs regardless of quantitatively measured outcomes. In this light, Suchman (1972) sums up the purpose of evaluating social action programs:

> Health, education, and welfare programs will continue to operate regardless of the results of any evaluation study and the key question is not so much "Are they any good?" as "How can they be made better?" (p. 63)

The field of special education has manifested this tension between individual quantitative change and the social context in which it occurs. This has been especially true where the children labeled as handicapped have suffered from no apparent organic injury or disease. Most of the children classified as "mentally retarded" fall within this large group of unspecifically diagnosed individuals, and terms such as "cultural-familial retardation" (Zigler, 1966), cultural disadvantage, and educational deprivation have been used to designate this otherwise normal population. Most of the children identified as retarded are not labeled until they come into contact with a public institution such as a school, hospital, or welfare agency (Mercer, 1973). During the early years of life, children who are not organically impaired are not likely to be identified as retarded. However, the convergence of empirical evidence and social policy have increased pressures to locate and assess young children who may be cognitively delayed or at-risk for such delay when they enter the public schools. Although the "critical period" theories (Bloom, 1964; Hunt, 1961) have come under reexamination in recent years (e.g., Clarke & Clarke, 1976), there remains both popular and scientific support for early intervention in the lives of these children. This has meant that children who traditionally have remained within the purview of their parents for the first six years of life are now being sought by public agencies seeking to compensate for potentially damaging environments with the goal of enhancing children's developmental status. This development, stimulated partly by recent educational policies that mandate the provision of services to handicapped children

prior to school entry (e.g., P.L. 94-142, The Education of All Handicapped Children Act of 1975), has created the need for a new understanding of the relationship between families with young children and the government. While historically families have had almost unfettered autonomy with respect to raising their young children, the value of enhancing development for those children at-risk for abnormal growth has superceded the value of this autonomy. This has led to the creation of an array of publicly-funded services that often substitute for family authority in the care of handicapped children by replacing family autonomy with professional prerogative (Moroney, 1976). Where children are severely handicapped by organic impairments, this process usually has not created problems. But in the case of families living in substandard economic conditions, the process becomes politically and socially conflicted. The design and goals of early intervention policies are frequently intended to compensate for the consequences of poverty and related conditions of poor health, isolation, undereducation, and family stress. Although the intended goal of many early intervention programs is to enhance children's ability to succeed in the public school setting, they generally do not alter the social systems which perpetuate those conditions that create functional retardation (Farber & Lewis, 1972). Rather, they often seek to provide "school readiness" skills which will increase a child's ability to conform to school-related norms. In order to understand the dynamics of labeling and treating young children who are handicapped or delayed then, we must investigate the nature of policies and practices that affect low income families as they interact with local educational institutions.

Although the sociological perspective and values utilized here are not widespread in the field of special education, a qualitative

sociopolitical analysis is necessary in order to understand the broader effects of behavioral change programs that operate through public institutions such as schools, health systems, or social welfare agencies. If the goal of special education is to provide environments that stimulate the optimal development of children with special needs, the creation of those environments must consider the familial, social, economic, and political contexts within which programs operate. This is particularly true for early childhood programs that intervene in the most basic social relationship--the interaction between parent and child during the first few years of life. If we do not understand the social conditions within which this dynamic relationship is evolving, our efforts will be futile if not harmful.

Historical Background

In the past two decades, a large body of literature has established the importance of the first several years of life for subsequent growth and development. Drawing on the work of Piaget (1952), Hunt (1961), Bloom (1964), and others described the critical aspects of early experience in the development of young children. The basic research knowledge generated in the 1950s and early 1960s was applied in experimental demonstration programs funded with federal dollars. These programs were designed to test the hypothesis that early intervention with developmentally delayed young children, or children at-risk for such delay for reasons of environmental deprivation, would reduce the occurrence of mental retardation or other handicapping conditions at later stages of development (Caldwell, 1970; Kirk, 1958). Early research and demonstration programs indicated some significant changes in the target children (Gray & Klaus, 1970; Weikart, 1967; White, 1973), but findings were

frequently inconsistent across projects, methodologies were suspect, and results were interpreted within a political context that prevented objective conclusions as to the efficacy of the program (Bronfenbrenner, 1974; Steiner, 1976; White, 1973).

However, the absence of conclusive data did not prevent Great Society policy makers from enacting large scale intervention programs to eradicate retardation and subsequent school failure by providing enriched, stimulating environments to children whose life was affected by poverty, isolation, and illness. Head Start, Follow-Through, and Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (P.L. 89-10) were born in the atmosphere of optimism of the middle sixties. These programs were aimed primarily at individual children and attempted to compensate for what was viewed as an inadequate social and physical environment. Although some programs were aimed at broad social problems, the target for change was generally the "unlucky child" (Steiner, 1976) rather than the social institutions and systems in which the child and his/her family lived. Concern was with getting the child ready to participate in the institutions of the public culture.

One example of the attempt to transform empirical knowledge about child development into an intervention policy and strategy was Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). Although much discretion was allowed concerning the actual design and purpose of the programs at the local level, the overall goal of Title I has been:

> To provide financial assistance to local educational agencies, serving areas with concentrations of children from low-income families to expand and improve their educational programs by various means which contribute particularly to meeting the special educational needs of educationally deprived children. (Title I ESEA, 1973, p. 13)

"Educationally deprived" has been defined usually as performing significantly below the expected level for one's peers at the same age or grade level in areas of academic achievement or cognitive ability.

Since 1965, Title I has become the largest federally supported compensatory education program for young children. It has been implemented in most school districts and has supported early intervention programs for preschool children, transition programs for children entering regular school, reading programs for learning disabled children, and special assistance programs for American Indians, migrants, and other subcultural groups. Unlike some broad-aim social action programs of the sixties, Title I has maintained strong support in Congress and has continued to receive appropriations sufficient to sustain it as an integral part of school systems serving low-income children.

The second early intervention policy important to this study is the Handicapped Children's Early Education Assistance Act of 1968 (P.L. 90-538). Unlike Title I of the ESEA, this act was aimed at children below school age who had diagnosed handicapping conditions. No income restrictions for participants were included in the legislation or regulations. The primary goal of the Act was to establish a national network of demonstration sites known as First Chance Programs. These programs ranged in design from home-based to center-based, used a variety of curriculum approaches, and worked with both children and families. They included dissemination components to inform state and local education agencies of alternative methods for educating young handicapped children. Federal support for the First Chance projects was limited to three years, with the possibility of continuation if the project was

demonstrating some new or expanded delivery system beyond that of its pilot design. There are an estimated 200 First Chance projects now operating (Cohen, Semmes, & Guralnick, 1979).

The Guiding Questions of the Study

Many early intervention programs, after some period of operating as demonstration models, have begun to develop replication sites in previously unserved or underserved communities. Occasionally these outreach activities have attempted to vary the design and operation of the original model in order to adapt programs to new community conditions and to demonstrate innovative methods of implementation. Much of the replication activity has taken place in non-metropolitan areas that have neither well-developed social service systems that could complement early intervention programs, nor substantial economic bases that could provide fiscal support to such programs. Thus, the operating conditions faced by many outreach and replication programs have generated special demands not encountered at the initial demonstration sites.

Presently, there is no effective model for evaluating this process of replicating or extending early intervention programs in sparsely populated areas. There are outcome measures available that can tell us something about changes in individual children as a result of exposure to a program, but such individual outcome measures do not provide a complete evaluative picture. In order to sensitize policy makers to the social and political context in which programs operate so that subsequent decisions are responsive to the ecology of implementation, we need to develop evaluative methodologies that assess changes in program and community as well as changes in individual target children. Our concern thus shifts from child outcomes to systemic processes--perhaps

a more complex but no less important focus for attention. One of the central questions arising from such a concern is:

1. To what degree are federally designed and subsidized early intervention programs integrated into local social and political structures?

This question suggests others:

2. How and why does the degree of integration change over time?

3. As a program is operationalized over time in a local setting, what community systems influence the program and cause it to diverge from its initial policy objectives and from its initial experimental or demonstration design?

4. In rural communities with homogeneous populations, few formal social service delivery systems, and relatively low educational and occupational achievement patterns, why is there public support for early intervention programs for preschool aged children, i.e., what is the perceived value of such a program from the perspective of consumers, school personnel, government officials, social service providers, and others?

5. How do the program modifications and the various perceptions of the program affect the degree of integration of the program with other community-based social institutions such as public school systems, mental health centers, voluntary service organizations, public welfare agencies, and local political structures.

These questions must be answered before specific hypotheses can be developed that will lead to more quantitative evaluation methodologies. From a social science perspective, an attempt to find answers should be viewed as hypothesis generating rather than hypothesis testing. The effort is to <u>discover</u>, rather than <u>confirm</u>, theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

From a policy-making perspective, these are questions that need to be applied to all social change programs in the course of planning, implementation, and evaluation.

An Overview of Rural Communities

The locus of power in our society is in urban, industrialized regions of the country. To a member of the urban population, that statement may appear tautological, but to rural families, many of whom have relatively low incomes, it is a reality that affects their daily lives. As Edward Breathitt, former governor of Kentucky, wrote:

> To talk about the rural poor in hopes of stimulating a positive response to rural poverty is like whistling down a rain barrel. The most potent institutions in our society are, after all, neither poor nor rural. (1969, p. 140)

Decision makers and social scientists, operating within an urban, industrialized perspective, run the risk of applying inappropriate solutions to the problems of rural education and rural poverty. Although professionals do recognize the difficulties of working with poor rural families (Dokecki, Note 2), there is a danger that either their needs will be ignored for lack of answers, or, perhaps worse, urban problem-solving methods will be used that will be incongruent with the context in which they are applied.

In differentiating between rural and urban communities, it is not meaningful to use a simple dichotomous categorization. Community typologies represent a continuum from very sparsely populated, unincorporated areas to highly industrialized, densely populated urban megalopoli such as the eastern seaboard of the U.S. Communities can be classified along this continuum from "traditional" to "rational" (Weber, 1947); "peasant" to "urban" (Albizu-Miranda, 1966); or from what Matthews (1966) has called "so-so" to "go-go." The broader

distinction made by Tönnies (Cahnman, 1973) between the Gemeinschaft (community) and the Gesellschaft (society) orientations parallels the distinction between rural communities and urban society made by Matthews (1966):

> A community has mostly intramural roles, that is, . . . role requirements can be met within the group, and . . . roles are proximal . . . played largely with the same persons and in the same institutional framework, the structure is tight. Roles in such a community tend to be diffuse, that is, played with regard to the total personalities involved. Conversely, societies capable of tolerating a wide diversity of behavior patterns must have norms related to specific performances or single positions, that is, involving only a segment of a total personality. (p. 127)

Erikson (1976) expresses this same distinction in relation to Appalachian culture:

> In most of the urban areas of America, each individual is seen as a separate being, with careful boundaries drawn around the space he or she occupies as a discreet personage. Everyone is presumed to have an individual name, an individual mind, an individual voice, and, above all, an individual sense of self--so much so that persons found deficient in any of those qualities are urged to take some kind of remedial action such as undergoing psychotherapy, participating in a consciousness-raising group, or reading one of a hundred different manuals on self-actualization. This way of looking at things, however, has hardly any meaning at all in most of Appalachia. There, boundaries are drawn around whole groups of people, not around separate individuals with egos to protect and potentialities to realize; and a person's mental health is measured less by his capacity to express his inner self than by his capacity to submerge that self into a larger communal whole. (p. 193)

There are two typologies of communities that can be used to understand the rural-urban continuum. The first, that of Parsons (1951), includes four ideal community types: universalistic-achievement universalistic-ascriptive, particularistic-achievement, and particularistic-ascriptive.

The first two categories, in which behavioral expectations are normative and universal (i.e., apply to all members of the society) are found in urban settings; roles are specialized and highly differentiated.

The latter categories are characteristic of rural communities in which primary emphasis is placed on the individual's total being rather than specific functions within limited contexts (Matthews, 1966).

How do individuals behave in particularistic settings, especially in those based on ascribed characteristics? There is a tendency to emphasize traditional role systems in which there is a lack of status differentiation (leveling), close role proximity in which behaviors are narrowly defined, and a tight or closed structure that involves little mobility in and out of the community and where traditional kinship patterns go generally undisturbed. Major social goals are aimed at stability, equalization of life chances among members, and denial of heirarchical power structures. Value is placed on expressive rather than instrumental roles. Frequently, kinship bonds are collateral rather than lineal; emphasis is on mutual expression of affection, especially among members of the same generation (Matthews, 1966). This kind of social system is found in a very homogeneous population due to its tight, stable structure. There is little divergence of value systems, familial patterns, ethnicity, or occupational status. Such characteristics and goals tend to inhibit social change, particularly if it is introduced by external elements. In the arena of educational change, Kreitlow and Butterfield (Note 3) found heterogeneous communities consistently more accepting of changing educational practices than were homogeneous communities.

The second typology, that used by Albizu-Miranda (1966) in a study of retarded persons in Puerto Rican communities, is based on economic rather than sociological descriptors. The six community types include peasant, plantation, rurban, urban slums, urban lower and middle class, and urban middle and upper class.

Although these categories were developed to describe social stratification in Puerto Rico, they can be used to describe the range of settings in America from sparsely populated rural areas to urban upper-income neighborhoods. The first two categories, peasant and plantation, are similar to the homogeneous, tight communities that have been described by Matthews (1966). The latter urban areas are heterogeneous, stratified, and highly differentiated with regard to role expectations. The rural areas are locally oriented, concerned with immediate needs and with the maintenance of a stable population; urban areas are cosmopolitan in orientation, concerned with divergent needs in a mobile and pluralistic population (Corwin, 1965).

Since communities within the larger society reflect to some degree the social changes that society is undergoing, no community is a truly static, closed entity immune from external pressures. The rurban classification used by Albizu-Miranda (1966) represents the transitional community moving from a primarily rural, local way of life to a more urban, cosmopolitan system. Dietrich (1971) identified this transitional group as the "urbanized rural population"--people who live in communities of less than 10,000, but whose lives have been "urbanized" through the influences of mass media and transportation systems. For example, in the southern Appalachian region of the U.S., there has been a gradual transition from the dominance of extractive industries (mining, farming, and forestry) to manufacturing and other non-farm activities. The rural non-farm population, recognized by the U.S. Census Bureau, is a transitional group that has been forced to give up farming due to the destructive effects of strip and auger mining and due to the competition of agri-business operations. From 1950 to 1960, over half the farms in the Appalachian regions of eastern Kentucky and

Tennessee were abandoned (Caudill, 1962). The displaced population has been very reluctant to leave the communities in which they have lived for several generations (Gehlen, 1969). The result has been greater unemployment, more public assistance expenditures, and an increase in the dependent population groups under 21 and over 65 years of age (Caudill, 1962).

One result of these economic and social changes has been an increase in the size and scope of the organizational surplus population (Farber, 1968). With the automation of the extractive industries and the increase in technological complexity of jobs in urban areas, the rural non-farm family is faced with fewer jobs at home and more competitive jobs in the city. The economic and social instability caused by these developments may very well impact the family, its child rearing capabilities, and its relation to educational institutions.

Gehlen (1969) and Vidich and Bensman (1958) characterize rural school systems as conservative and as resistant to curriculum expansion, introduction of "value-laden" subjects, increased expenditures, and consolidation with other districts. The faculty, students, and parents are of homogeneous backgrounds and maintain convergent value systems. Frequently, when change is proposed, school boards act as inhibitors of change, while school superintendents are more often initiators of change. The traditional, local orientation of the community demands "an emphasis on the 'three R's' without any 'frills'" (Gehlen, 1969, p. 25).

A major factor in the role of the rural school as change agent is the integrative social function that small schools play. As the only social institution in the rural community that has contact with virtually everybody, and as the general meeting place for any large community gathering, the school is seen as central to the stability and cohesiveness

of the small town (Gehlen, 1969; Schwarzweller & Brown, 1971). This perception makes the school, as a social institution, a highly public and visible entity. Educational change is seen as affecting more than just the classrooms and the children within them. Thus, as Gehlen points out, questions of educational reform often attract many community elements who do not usually participate in discussion of social issues. This may be especially true for religious groups who see their own role as culture and value transmitter being threatened by the school system. Albizu-Miranda (1966) saw this as a transitional phenomenon; in rural areas the family and church serve as the culture transmitters, but in urban areas the school has usurped these institutions as the primary culture bearer. Communities moving from rural to urban orientation will face this shift in the respective functions of family, church, and school.

The implementation of early intervention programs should take these school-community characteristics into account. Where such programs operate as part of the public school system, they may be viewed as educational change beyond that which is normally sanctioned. Although they are federally-subsidized, community members may perceive them as increased financial burdens. The fact that the design and regulations attached to the programs are frequently externally-generated may add to community resistance, leading to a lack of structural integration. In addition, the traditional socialization and value-transmission that occurs before the child enters school may be perceived as threatened by federally-funded and regulated programs that provide "treatment" for three- and four-year-old children.

Social Values in Southern Appalachia

Many observers of Southern Appalachian culture have used similar terms to describe the personality characteristics and social values of those who live in the region. Much of the work has included reference to Ford's (1962) catalogue of traits that consists of individualism and self-reliance, traditionalism, familialism, fundamentalism, and fatalism. Looff's (1971) list includes these same traits, and adds action-orientation, stoicism, and person-orientation. Gerrard (1971) uses the term "anti-state orientation" to describe the effect of these characteristics in terms of expressed values concerning external authority. However, the use of these descriptive labels fails to account for the current changes being experienced by Appalachian communities. These changes are the result of the region's increasing integration into mainstream America at a fast but uneven rate. Photiadis (1971) argues that the region is undergoing "reorganization" now in response to external pressures which are leading to a new emphasis on material achievement. This new valuing of achieved characteristics is proceeding faster than changes in social and personality systems can occur, creating a "disequilibrium" between material objectives and the ability of the social system to adapt itself to pursuing those objectives. The pursuit of more material (or modern, if you will) goals results in a stretching of the old values of fatalism, individualism, etc. toward more competitive, interdependent life styles. The stretch leads to stress, particularly where the economic means to achieve the new objectives are not available.

Erikson (1976) recognizes this stretch/stress phenomenon, and proposes an "axes of variation model" that visualizes the culture as a "tangle of contrary tendencies" (p. 84). In his brilliant thesis on

loss of communality in an Appalachian community hit by disaster, Erikson identifies a continuum of traits that portray the influences of modernization. These traits include the tensions between:

1. love of tradition and respect for personal liberty
2. self-assertion and resignation
3. self-centered and group-centered behavior
4. physical ability and disability
5. a sense of independence and a need for dependence.

Erikson argues that it is historical circumstance that determines where an individual or community falls along these continua. As external events impinge on the culture, adaptation takes the form of moving closer to one extreme or the other, with the potential for moving back to the initial position as circumstances change. For example, on the tension between self-assertion and resignation, Erikson writes,

> For all his bravado, the Appalachian has little confidence in his ability to influence outcomes and is apt to yield with surprising passivity to whatever fate has in store for him. He is helpless before the God who reigns over Appalachia, helpless before the crotchety ways of nature, and helpless before the crafty maneuvering of those who come to exploit him and his land. "What can I do?" is an everyday explanation for inactivity in the mountains, and, indeed, it is hard to argue that this is anything less than a practical estimate of the situation, for these are a truly vulnerable people. The resignation of the mountaineer, however, is not entirely like the stolid peasant fatalism one expects to find in other parts of the world; his reflexes may have been blunted over time, but he still flashes with indignation and still has sharp resentments. And so he has to find some midpoint between a rage that cries out for expression and a view of the world that calls for submission. "It takes a lot to rile a mountain man," said one teen-ager who lives on Buffalo Creek, "but when he gets mad, watch out!" When he gets mad, in fact, he usually does not do much of anything, especially if the object of his irritation is some powerful interest; but the potential for response is always there, eating away at his relationships with others and at his own sense of self-esteem. (pp. 85-86)

The people of Appalachia, who frequently have been portrayed as one-dimensional illiterates and naive hillbillies, are beginning to be seen as multi-faceted members of a once tight and homogeneous culture that is now responding to the pressures of modernization. The primary transmitters of the modern culture are local public welfare institutions, including schools, social service agencies, and mental health centers. These institutions play a pivotal role in the transition and adaptation of rural communities as they confront the urban-oriented heterogeneous society of contemporary America.

Social and Economic Trends in the Appalachian Region

The Appalachian region, extending from northern Alabama to southern New York, encompasses an area equivalent in size to the state of California. Although it contains about 10% of the population of the U.S., it accounts for 50% of all illiteracy (McNair, 1970). In 1970, almost 30% of all families in the Southern Appalachian region had annual incomes below the poverty level, compared to a national average of about 11%. Fifty-six percent of all families made less than $6,000 in 1969, and the percentage increases as community size decreases and as population density decreases. In 1970, the unemployment rate was significantly higher in Southern Appalachia than in the U.S. as a whole. There are more unemployed men than women, the reverse of the national trend. Areas under 10,000 population have the highest unemployment rates. The 1970 average weekly wage was about $85. From 1950 to 1960, the population of Southern Appalachia decreased by almost 8%; the national growth rate was a positive 21%. From 1960 to 1970, the trend reversed and population increased by 6%, still below the national growth rate. In communities with less than 10,000 people, population

has decreased at even greater rates, and unemployment rates have increased sharply. Those areas that relied on farming and mining have shown the greatest population declines. (Data sources are U.S. Census figures and state and regional planning agencies.)

In 1970, the average rural non-farm adult living in Southern Appalachia had less than nine years of schooling compared with a national average of just over twelve years. Schooling generally took place in districts with less than 300 students (Toward Equal Educational Opportunity, 1970). Rural children below school age were enrolled in public and private preschool programs one-third as often as their national counterparts, and children in the 16 to 17 year age bracket were not enrolled in school at a rate 25% higher than the national average. There are twice as many adults with less than one year of high school as those found nationwide (Moe & Tamblyn, 1974).

A useful monitor of community change and stability is the rate of out-migration. Most of the population loss seen in small Appalachian communities discussed by Caudill (1962) and others has been caused by out-migration, particularly by those 21 to 65 years old who were better educated and more skilled. The attraction of higher paid (but not necessarily higher status) jobs in non-rural areas has drained the region of many of its more motivated and aspiring members, leaving behind the dependent and powerless poor and elderly. Recent years have seen a decline in these out-migration rates. Many adults now migrate and return in cyclical patterns as job markets fluctuate in northern urban centers. In general, more young adults are remaining in their native communities than was the case during the 1950s and 1960s.

Current Intervention Efforts In Appalachia

In 1965, the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC) was established as part of the Johnson administration's effort to reduce poverty through community development. The goal of the ARC was to bring to the region its fair share of American affluence by stimulating social and economic development. In 1966, the ARC's Education Advisory Committee set five program priorities, the first priority being the development of early childhood education programs (McNair, 1970). Two years later, the President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty (The People Left Behind, 1967) listed the following as its first recommendation:

> 1) That every child beginning at age three have an opportunity to participate in a good preschool program and that wherever possible preschool programs be operated by or in close cooperation with the school system that will have continuing responsibility for the education of the children. Preschool programs should involve a normal distribution of children from different social and economic environments. (p. 44)

In 1969, Congress instructed the ARC to begin experimental child development programs for children from birth to six years old in Appalachia. This effort, combined with the concurrent efforts of Head Start and Title I, marked the beginning of comprehensive early intervention efforts in the region. By 1970, there were 310 federally funded early childhood programs in Appalachia, administered by 18 different agencies and bureaus (Education Commission of the States, 1971).

The programs have covered a broad range of delivery mechanisms, from school-based to home-based, from child-oriented to parent-oriented, and from skill-oriented to social and affective foci. While some programs have concentrated on language development as the most important intervention target (Skinner, 1967), others discovered that such basic needs as food, clothing, and health care had to be met before cognitive development could be tackled (Improving Education Through ESEA, 1970).

A third group set as their overall goal changes in social values, child rearing patterns, and attitudes toward educational systems (Briscoe & Archambo, 1969; Puzzuoli & Fazzaro, 1970). These projects, although varied in approach and goals, all found that short-term intervention efforts, both cognitive and attitudinal, had little impact on the target children and families. Only those projects that worked with the same families for at least three years seemed to have any lasting results (Puzzuoli & Fazzaro, 1970). Health intervention programs, such as the Comprehensive Child Development Centers and midwifery programs operated with ARC funds by the Tennessee Office of Child Development, have been successful in sharply reducing infant mortality rates and in improving maternal and infant nutritional status. Generally, there is a lack of evidence to "prove" the efficacy of center-based cognitive programs because of the short period most have operated and the absence of longitudinal studies. Those programs that have shown changes are those that worked with the entire family for an extended period of time and provided social and economic support in addition to educational services.

A Theoretical and Methodological Perspective for Evaluating the Ecology of Implementation

The field of education research, including the sub-field of special education, lacks a unifying paradigm, in the sense used by Kuhn (1970), to guide method and theory development. There is no universally accepted model which suggests specific problems and solutions to educational practitioners. Education research could be said to be a "democratic" endeavor, in that there is a plurality of methods and frameworks that may be applied to phenomena relating to educational systems. At this point, no particular theory and method are consensually viewed as

the one best system for disclosing the nature of educational processes. This is an appropriate and functional circumstance, given the heterogeneous nature of educational systems in American culture and given the plurality of goals, pedagogies, and participants involved in the myriad formal and informal systems that generate and distribute knowledge. For these reasons, much educational research should be viewed as attempts to generate initial hypotheses and propositions rather than confirm existing formal theories.

The hypothesis-generation model requires an interdisciplinary approach that is analytic and inductive. The tools and perspectives of established disciplines such as psychology, sociology, anthropology, political science, economics, etc. may be utilized in education research both as a way of expanding the boundaries of these disciplines and as a way to generate hypotheses and propositions specific to the nature of educational systems. Those disciplines may offer sensitizing concepts (Denzin, 1970) to education research that are capable of being investigated experimentally. The course of progression logically flows from such sensitizing concepts to initial assumptions to tentative hypotheses to more formal propositions and theoretical statements. Sensitization comes before operationalization and quantitative measurement. Exploratory investigations, that is, those tied more closely to the concrete, lead to middle-range or substantive theory as opposed to formal theory that grows out of repeated verification of existing hypotheses.

The evaluation of the ecology of implementing educational policies is a relatively new field, and thus requires an imphasis on hypothesis-generating and qualitative methodologies. Given the salience of contexts in such an evaluation, theory and methodology must be able to account for the effects of context on program development and vice versa. In

addition, because implementation is a processual rather than static phenomenon, research methods and theory must be robust and responsive to changing circumstances. Finally, because the problem as described earlier is to understand local responses to externally initiated policies, the research approach should be able to expose situated meanings and multiple perspectives that influence the implementation process as it unfolds in the everyday realities of those who carry out and utilize a particular program.

Clearly, these demands limit the range of theoretical and methodological options appropriate to examining implementation and evaluation questions. When existing social science tools are reviewed, the contributions of the sociology of knowledge (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Schutz, 1962) and symbolic interaction theory (Blumer, 1969; Mead, 1934) emerge as congruent with the questions at hand and with our own values. On the former, Berger and Luckmann (1967) have written:

> The sociology of knowledge must first of all concern itself with what people "know" as "reality" in their everyday, non- or pre-theoretical lives. In other words, commonsense "knowledge" rather than "ideas" must be the central focus for the sociology of knowledge. It is precisely this "knowledge" that constitutes the fabric of meanings without which no society could exist. (p. 15)

In order to understand the commonsense knowledge of a particular community or social group, an interactionist perspective is required to assess both symbolic (inferred) and interactional (observed) behavior (Denzin, 1970). The research process then becomes an attempt to learn first the everyday realities of those being observed and subsequently to infer initial hypotheses to explain how those realities occur and to what end.

Given these tenets, the use of predetermined concepts or hypotheses that are "tested" in the field is inappropriate. Because the researcher

seeks to understand the commonsense knowledge of those he observes, he must suspend his own technical meanings. Through an ongoing process of face-to-face interaction and participation with those whose reality he seeks to know, the researcher learns the contextually-bound meanings of language and actions. He does not treat context as a confounding enemy to be controlled, using traditional approaches that are "context-stripping" (Mishler, 1979). Rather, he goes first to context in order to understand the dialectic between individuals and their social milieux, and asks, How is knowledge distributed in this setting? Who knows what, and how does that affect their actions toward others? Who controls expert knowledge, and how is it selectively disseminated within the community? How do individuals change in response to acquiring new knowledge? How do shared understandings change in a community, and how does that change affect the social structures being examined? These are the meta-questions that form the starting point for this study. Although the research examines concrete phenomena related to particular programs, the grounded field work is linked closely to these theoretical issues.

In addition to the perspective just sketched, this study brings existing theories of organizational behavior to bear on the observed phenomena. Organizations and social institutions are viewed as significant in determining the behavior of their participants and are characterized by individual commitment to means with a concurrent shift away from a concern for the needs of an organization. As individuals are affected by the organizations in which they carry out their everyday lives, so organizations are influenced by the network of institutions that surround them in any particular community. Within an organization, informal structures emerge to meet the needs of participants for acquisition of power, control of knowledge and protection of status. Organizations face constraints as

they go about their business, leading to tensions and dilemmas within the organization and between the organization and its institutional milieu. The commitments of participants and the constraints faced by an organization produce both intended and unintended consequences. Unintended or unanticipated consequences are the result of a limited or inaccurate vision of the ends of an organization or the result of informal processes created to protect participants at the expense of achieving a stated goal. Those who control an organization become those who implement, define, and provide its structures/services/products, while those who require some service or product become the "recipients," "clients," or "target population." Their needs are defined to conform to the structures and delivery system of the organization. The organization maintains its role as definer of need by coopting recipients into its formal structures while maintaining control over special knowledge and information. The appearance of participation and knowledge dissemination does not result in any real shift in locus of control or increase in organizational sensitivity to the idiosyncratic needs of clients. (This model is derived largely from Selznick, 1949.)

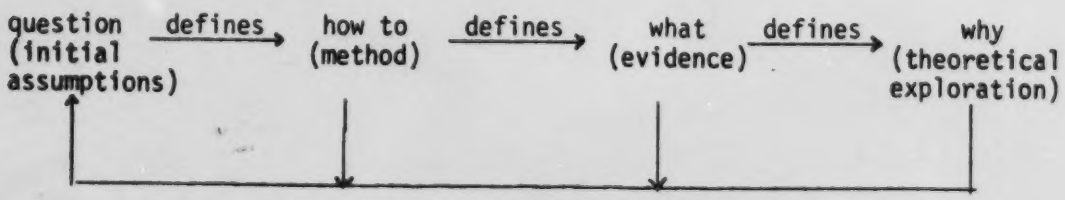
Finally, two additional theoretical constructs have guided this study. The notions of assimilation and accommodation, borrowed from the epistemology of Piaget (1947), are applied to the interactions between the organizations of concern and the community settings in which they function. Assimilation occurs "whenever the organism [program, in this case] sees something new in terms of something familiar, whenever it acts in a new situation as it has acted in other situations in the past" (Hunt, 1961, p. 112). In organizational terms, a program will respond to diverse and unpredictable needs of individuals

by applying familiar labels and solutions to a new situation. To use the language of sociology of knowledge, the organization responds based on its "typification" of an individual or a problem, rather than on an objective and intimate knowledge.

Accommodation, as the obverse of assimilation, occurs when "the environmental circumstances act upon the organism [or program], not by merely evoking a fixed response, not by getting a passive submission to circumstances, but rather by modifying the action or schema affecting them" (Hunt, 1961, p. 112). In other words, the milieu in which a program operates will cause the program to change in order to maintain its existence and integrity in the context of changing environmental circumstances. The original design and objectives of a program will change so that it may serve new purposes or clients as necessary for survival.

For this study, these two complementary processes are viewed as creating an ongoing process of program adaptation to individual needs, community circumstances, and centralized policy making. One of the goals of the study is to understand what forces contribute to assimilation and accommodation as a program is implemented in a local community.

The method used in this study is a logical and necessary result of the theoretical framework outlined above. Method and theory are interdependent, and the choice of a different set of theories to guide the research would lead to the choice of a different set of methods. The schema of the study is represented below:



This is a reiterative process in which the method by its nature limits what is observed. What is observed through the methodological lens generates hypotheses which in turn affect choices of method in succeeding research steps. It is an "open" process in the sense that the researcher does not predetermine each step of the investigation. Rather, he allows the accumulated evidence to guide the next observation, and explanations are not finalized until the period of observation ends, allowing for shifts in focus and explanation as the study is carried out. It is a dialectical interaction between the researcher and the setting, and in that sense is an inter-subjective endeavor. This perspective results in a close interweaving of the researcher, the theory, and the method for "the very act of engaging in social research must be seen as a process of symbolic interaction, that being a scientist reflects a continual attempt to lift one's own idiosyncratic experiences to the level of the consensual and the shared meaning" (Denzin, 1970, p. 12).

The primary data collection technique used in this study is the method of participant observation (cf. Becker, 1970; Blumer, 1969; Bogdan, 1972; Bogdan & Taylor, 1975; Bruyn, 1966). Participant observation is characterized by an "intense social interaction between the researcher and the subjects, in the milieu of the latter" (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975, p. 5). The researcher's focus is on social systems, interactions of individuals with each other and with social institutions, and the social distribution of knowledge between various community sectors. The observer does not seek to test or verify preconceived hypotheses. Rather, he asks "What is happening here?" and, "What are the cultural themes or meanings that can be identified here that are relevant to the problem at hand?"

The basic operational assumptions of participant observation are (a) human behavior is influenced in a complex manner by the social and physical context in which it occurs, and (b) human behavior has meaning beyond immediately observable characteristics and actions of individuals (Wilson, 1977). In other words, "the purpose of participant observation is to study human meanings and how they are revealed in the context of society" (Bruyn, 1966, p. 47). Meanings are a product of both observable facts and expressed values which become complexly interwoven in cultural settings. The interrelationship of fact and value is reflected in the complex relationship between objectivity and subjectivity in the research methodology. As Bruyn (1966) has said:

> To be more objective about man in society, social science today must become more subjectively adequate. . . . To be objective about man, paradoxical as it would seem, we must understand the subjective world of meanings. Objectivity is an ideal never fully achieved. Objectivity can be attained through accurate subjective interpretations of reality which broaden the theoretical basis of analysis. (pp. 163-164)

Participant observation is thus an appropriate technique for investigating the ecology of implementation. Because our concern is with social systems, levels of integration of a specific program with other social structures, expressed values relative to the program, and temporal influences in relation to program change, an intensive, prolonged period of observation is necessary. In order for the observations to be objectively and subjectively valid, the researchers must participate in the everyday realities and activities of those observed. This process leads to an understanding of the contextual meanings expressed by the "subjects." These personological understandings in turn lead to sociological understandings that form the foundation for emerging hypotheses and theories about human behavior. The goal is not to isolate microvariables and demonstrate statistical causality, but to

place macrovariables in a systematic relationship to each other and develop a model of social processes, in this case of the implementation of early intervention programs in rural communities. This approach is seen as a necessary prerequisite to more finite, quantitative analysis that may occur once the contextual variables have been identified and analyzed.

The basic sources of data included (a) the unobtrusive and systematic gathering of field notes taken in naturally occurring settings, (b) focused private interviews with individual actors, and (c) analysis of solicited and unsolicited documents. Bogdan and Taylor (1975) make the distinction between solicited and unsolicited personal documents. Solicited documents are those that have been written for the researcher and that contain information that must be analyzed with that motivation in mind. Unsolicited documents include those pieces written for the person's own consumption only (personal diaries) or for a third party (letters, essays, school reports).

In addition to personal documents, there were numerous sources of public documents that provided information. These include newspaper articles, program proposals, minutes of organizational meetings, statements of public officials, transcripts of legislative hearings, agency rules and regulations, and census data.

Social Variables

As stated earlier, the emphasis of this study was on evaluating the process of implementation within a social context. A number of macrovariables were examined to determine their relationship to the early intervention programs. Such macrovariables included the size and location of the community, the incidence of poverty, the availability of social services, the incidence of handicapping conditions in the general

population and in the schools, the organizational structures charged with carrying out the programs, and community attitudes toward education and toward the role of the family relative to child rearing in the first years of life. These macrovariables were examined in relation to the role of actors at various state and local levels, as follows:

1. public administrators
   a. elected: school superintendents
      county judges
      county court members
   b. non-elected: supervisory staff
      program administrators at state and regional levels
2. program staff: site director/lead teacher
   classroom teachers
   home visitors
   other professionals and paraprofessionals in direct contact with children and/or families
3. families and children: program participants, past and present
   extended family members

Individuals were categorized according to these broad classes, and their behavior was analyzed relative to the programs observed in naturally occurring situations to assess levels of participation, support of the program, attitudes toward the program, ideologies concerning early childhood education, the role of the community vis à vis families with young handicapped or at-risk children, etc. The interaction of participating families with the program and with other social institutions was assessed in order to understand the wider social context within which the families lived. Questions that guided observations of social factors included:

1. What is the observed behavior of these actors relative to the implementation of early intervention programs?
2. How does that behavior vary with social status (i.e., elected

vs. non-elected; professional vs. paraprofessional; service provider vs. service recipient)?

3. How congruent is observed public behavior with private behavior revealed in focused interviews and informal settings?

4. What are the expectations for the program as expressed at each actor level?

5. What are the social factors that influence parents to utilize the early intervention programs?

Political Variables

This area drew on the social variables to focus on decision making behavior at each of the actor levels. Perceived political constraints and assets were examined. Shifting political priorities at the state and local levels were investigated for their effect on the programs. For example, a change of administration that occurred at the state level in 1974 had a direct effect on the political support for pre-school programs when the new state commissioner of education ordered Title I spending only for K-12 programs. Although the threat to cut off funds for preschool programs has yet to be carried out, the Title I program observed has turned to the local school board for financial support in anticipation of the possible future loss of state support.

Another political factor related to social variables is the acceptability of the program itself and its format. Both early intervention programs selected for this study are federally-subsidized with increasing amounts of local financial support. There are indications in the two communities that there is some opposition to federal control of early childhood programs, manifested by petitions being circulated in local churches that object to a number of federal initiatives, including equal rights for women and homosexuals and centralized control

of preschool programs. Similarly, programs that place a heavy emphasis on the mother-child bond, and not just on classroom-based treatment, may be more acceptable in rural areas that place a high value on the early child-rearing functions of the family.

The availability of economic/material resources also was considered for its effect on decision making behavior. One of the major sources of funding for both programs observed has been the Appalachian Regional Commission. Title XX funds have been used to some extent, but have created many problems for the staff while reducing the number of children eligible. Other material factors include the strength of local tax bases, the availability of classroom space, and the use of supplementary state and federal grants to expand the size and scope of the programs.

Finally, the transference of political power in the form of both knowledge and material assets from public administrators to program staff, and, in turn, to participating families was examined. For example, if public administrators were aware of a social service program for which participating families were eligible, we asked what efforts were made to provide that information to families and to encourage their utilization by families. Guiding questions addressed relative to political variables included:

1. Under what circumstances do those who hold power or knowledge pass them on to others?

2. How is political power distributed in rural communities and how does this distribution affect the implementation process?

3. What factors affect decision making concerning support for programs as evidenced by participation in programs or financial support for programs?

4. What information is utilized in the decision making process concerning program design, implementation, modification, and continuation; and, what information is utilized by parents concerning participation, level of input, continuation with or termination from the program, etc.?

Historical Variables

This study of the process of implementation is grounded in a historical perspective of the two communities, the actors relevant to the early intervention programs, and the programs themselves. Investigation of program history focused on legislative and regulatory documents concerning the development of the programs, scientific knowledge used in the rationale and design of the programs, initial proposals to create the programs, and specific events influencing the programs, such as changes in staff, construction of new facilities, changes in funding patterns, and so on. Community history examined included social, political, and economic trends and events in the Highland Region. Availability of alternative resources for families, the historical role of schools, welfare agencies, civic organizations, churches, governmental units, advocacy groups, and health care providers were assessed.

The community histories were also placed in a broader regional context of changes in the Southern Appalachian region. Social indicators were reviewed to understand economic cycles, family demographic changes, population shifts, etc. Changes in indicators were related to historical events occurring within the coal mining industry, the decline in farming, and the growth of light industry that is female labor-intensive. Guiding questions addressed in this section included:

1. How do historical events and trends affect the implementation of early intervention programs?

2. What alternative support systems have families with handicapped or at-risk children utilized in the past? Given the recent availability of formal programs, what factors have influenced families to make use of these programs?

3. What current events or trends exist that are influencing the present delivery of program services and can be expected to influence future service delivery (i.e., shifts in economic cycles, transition from extractive to industrial economy, development of other early childhood services)?

Programmatic Variables

This area built on the above perspectives and focused on specific program variables that influenced implementation. Of particular interest were the goals of the programs as expressed at each actor level and the observed congruency between those various expressed goals and the programs as they exist. Program design was assessed over time. Differences between program design and operation and the social values held by community members were examined. Specific political and economic constraints on the program were analyzed, and the future goals of the program were reviewed.

Some of these factors have been alluded to in earlier sections. It was the intent here to trace the specific program components from conception to the present in order to draw implications for future directions. A review of the objectives contained in the annual project proposals and progress reports was used to establish criteria for measuring the expressed purposes of the programs. Guiding questions addressed here included:

1. To what extent do existing program goals reflect the original design and purposes stated at the earliest stages of implementation?

2. What changes in program design, operation, and goals have occurred since the initial implementation? Why have these changes occurred?

3. What external factors have caused modification of the program over time?

A more detailed description of the methodology and data analysis techniques is presented in Chapter IV.

Selecting the Field Sites

The author was residing in Nashville, Tennessee at the time the study was conducted. Due to the author's previous experiences in administering rural early intervention projects, field sites compatible with his expertise and research interests were sought. During an eight-month period, several communities in the Southern Appalachian region were visited to assess their applicability to the research project. Consideration was given to the size of the community, the presence of a federally-subsidized early intervention program that had been implemented not less than three nor more than six years ago, receptivity of program staff and community members to the proposed research, and physical accessibility of the site.

The Southern Appalachian region was selected for several reasons. First, many early intervention programs have been established in the region during the past decade under the auspices of various federal agencies. Second, many of the initial projects have begun to develop replication sites that attempt to carry programs into less populated, less served areas. Third, the region has been well documented in other

political, economic, social, and demographic research. Thus, there is a readily available data base from which validating comparisons and contrasts may be drawn. Finally, the changing nature of the population is assumed to be representative of other sparsely populated regions in which external social and economic pressures are creating internal responses that may be sensitive to policy making and program development.

After visiting several early intervention programs and describing the proposed research to potential informants, two sites were chosen that would provide access and meet the general criteria outlined above. One of the sites is an early intervention program for 3 through 5 year olds in a community of about 3,000 people. The community serves as a county seat for "Hickory County" (pop. 15,000).[1] The program is funded through Title I and ARC and is physically located in two regional elementary schools. Its population is drawn from the residents of Hickory County. The program has been in operation since the fall of 1974, and has served children identified as developmentally delayed by 6 months or more.

The second program chosen is a replication site for an urban-based intervention program initially funded under the Handicapped Children's Early Education Assistance Act of 1968. The center-based program for 2 through 6 year olds is located in a state university in a regional population center and has been open since January 1975. Funding has been primarily through the ARC, with some state contributions from the Department of Mental Health. The sponsoring agency for the program is now the "Highland Regional Community Mental Health Center."

---

[1] Note: Actual names of people and places will not be used in this research report in order to protect the rights to privacy and confidentiality of the people involved.

Training Program principal, and the state director of replication for the Parent Training Program. Topics covered in the meeting included a review of current early intervention activities in the Highland Region, discussion of the relationships between existing programs, and a general overview of the proposed research. The main result of the meeting was that the researcher was given the names of 12 more people to talk with in order to identify a specific topic and site. During the next few months, most of these people were interviewed. Although the possibility of using the Parent Training Program as a research site was not discussed in the initial meeting, the cooperativeness of the PTP staff, and the accessibility and nature of the program resulted in choosing it as one of two or three potential settings.

One of the contacts made during this time was with a regional child development specialist who was very helpful in making introductions and providing background information. She became a key person in aiding the entry process. In a conversation with a Title I administrator one day, she learned of his interest in evaluating the early intervention program in his school district. She responded to this interest by mentioning the researcher and his desire to observe just such a program. Shortly after, she telephoned the researcher and advised him to contact the administrator. The subsequent contact led to a face-to-face meeting which resulted in a reciprocal agreement to allow access to the site in exchange for an evaluation of the program by the researcher. A short time later, the county school board voted to allow the research to take place. Although the administrator expressed the hope that the evaluation would result in positive findings, there was no limitation imposed on the researcher in terms of access to people, files, or events, and

the project was conducted independent of any local control, but with the support of the staff, as indicated by the provision of temporary office space for the researcher.

As research questions were narrowed down and the specific sites selected, informal agreements were established with program administrators. These agreements laid out the ground rules for how the researcher would participate and observe in community and center-based activities. In addition, parents were informed of the researcher's purpose and were given opportunities to interact informally with the researcher both during program hours and at the end of the program day.

To summarize, the purpose of the study was to generate hypotheses concerning the ecology of implementing early intervention programs in rural communities. Because hundreds of such programs have been established with federal support since the 1960s, it is necessary to understand the social and political context within which the programs operate as a prerequisite to conducting traditional program evaluation. To understand the qualitative variables involved in implementation, symbolic interaction theory, the sociology of knowledge, and theories of formal organizations have been combined with the method of participant observation to answer the guiding questions. Field sites were selected in the Southern Appalachian region that contained federally-supported programs for preschool children who were handicapped or developmentally delayed.

CHAPTER II

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT

> The Highland Region is a way of life. There's an abundance of natural resources in addition to human resources. The unique combination of leisure, beauty, and cultural heritage combine here to form a lifestyle found nowhere else.
>
> Thus, one basic goal of the Highland Regional Planning Agency (HRPA) is to retain this basic lifestyle and provide a rural alternative to metropolitan living. This is based on the assumption that equivalent economic opportunities and social services can be provided with the benefit of a rural environment and the rural lifestyle which is basic to our stable social system.
>
> In order to accommodate this goal all strategies, policies, and objectives, regardless of the planning under consideration, are directed toward this concept.
>
> It is the basic belief of the HRPA that the planning programs need not be complex and sophisticated. Although the Highland Region has multiple and diversified problems, they are not of the magnitude found in the heavily urbanized areas. This gives the HRPA, located in a rural area, the benefit of maintaining a humanistic approach.
>
> Highland Regional Planning Agency
> FY 1978 Community Development Plan

These are proud words. The people of the Highland Region are proud people. Their identity is bound to their sense of separateness. They are rural people who are quick to point out the advantages of their lifestyle over that to be found in complex, heterogeneous urban centers. Highlanders take comfort in the stability and security of the unchanging hills and valleys that they have known since birth. As one 50-year-old native put it:

> There's always something to bring a body back here. I just can't say what it is; maybe it's the hills and lakes, maybe it's the soil. Maybe it's because it's where we all come from.

A Physical Description of the Highland Region

The Highland Region spreads across an area of 5,000 square miles nestled into the western foothills of the Southern Appalachian Mountains. Almost 200,000 people live here, most in small towns of less than 5,000 residents. About 15,000 people live in Jackson City, "the hub of the Highlands." The population density is about 40 people per square mile, although some areas are much sparser and Winchester County, located in the center of the region and bisected by an interstate highway, is twice as dense. Fifty-five thousand families live in the region.

The topography of the Highland Region consists of broad plains stretching over high plateaus rimmed by rugged hills which fall sharply into narrow hollows. There are thousands of streams, creeks, and rivers that cut through the hollows, but no natural lakes. If we were to fly over the region and look down on its forested hills and open fields, it might look like a wrinkled bedsheet, smooth in places but pushed up in jagged ridges in others. If we were to look at a cross-section of the region from the side, it might appear to be a long, sawtoothed sloping wedge, with the broad, eastern end merging with the massive Appalachians, and the low, western end spilling into the open farmlands that stretch flat and unbroken to the Mississippi River.

The entire region is a place of natural beauty. The flatter areas offer a calm, rolling grace. The hilly parts are more outspoken, demanding attention and taking one's breath upon emerging over the top of an open ridge or plunging into an isolated, richly vegetated hollow. One local woman described the contrasting feelings evoked by this rough beauty:

> I wouldn't let a child of mine ride over Laural Mountain for no amount of money. Have you ever been over there? It is beautiful. Most beautiful place I have ever seen in my life, the Laural Gorge. You're as high up as you can imagine, and you can look straight off over it, and down in here's a big valley. It's a pretty place and you can drive down it one side and get down to the bottom then drive back up the other side. But there's slides and things and to me it's just dangerous.

The contrasts and ambivalence of the land is mirrored when one looks at the structures--the roads and farms and villages. Large wood frame farm houses with room for both family and kin stand nobly amidst one-story brick ranches and split levels with just enough room for two adults and a few children. Mobile homes are frequent along the main roads, but not so back in the hollows. The newer houses are clustered, reaching like the fingers of a glove into the fields, forcing farms to reduce their size or close out completely in the face of rising prices for development land. The older houses, but not the newer ones, have several ricks of wood or large piles of coal lying outside to be used for winter heating and cooking.

Factories range from massive old wood frame textile mills to small, metal warehouses that produce electronic components or tool parts. Trucking firms line the interstate through Winchester County. Back in the hills, old community buildings or tobacco sheds are converted into small shirt factories where twenty or thirty women sew clothes for Botany 500 or H.I.S.

Within the towns, the degree of uniformity in layout and appearance is striking. All county seats are organized around a central square with a four- or five-story brick (sometimes stone) and wood courthouse. Civil War cannons, wooden benches, and old men in overalls whittling cedar sticks into nothing but piles of shavings at their feet ring the courthouses. The square around the courthouse generally contains retail

five-and-dime stores, hardware stores, small grocery stores, card shops, coffee shops, clothing stores (that often have second-hand clothing for sale in addition to newer work and dress clothes), a movie theater (sometimes abandoned due to competition from newer double-cinema franchises on the commercial strip outside of town), and a few professional offices for the town's handful of lawyers and one or two dentists.

The largest city in the region, located in its geographic center, is Jackson City. It houses many of the regional service centers, including the Highland Regional Planning Agency (HRPA), the regional welfare and public health offices, a state university, a cable television station, several large shopping centers, the only hospital in the region with specialists available, a regional speech and hearing clinic, and enough industry to support much of the region's workforce. Jackson City is experiencing tremendous growth (population increased by 85% from 1960-1970) while other towns have been fairly stable in size. The city is a hub geographically, economically, and politically. The HRPA board of directors is the only regionwide forum for county judges and dozens of agency representatives in matters relating to the distribution of federal and state economic development grants.

A Brief History of the Highland Region

Written accounts of the history of this region date its original exploration and settlement to the last half of the eighteenth century. Daniel Boone was an early explorer, and Davy Crockett is believed to have trapped here around 1810-1820. The first settlers, many of whom were Revolutionary War soldiers with land grants, found virgin forests of poplar, oak, cedar, chestnut, cherry, walnut, and hickory. Logging operations were underway by the early nineteenth century.

By 1860, the region was a prosperous farming and logging community. Records from Hickory County indicate there were 1,087 slaves owned by 248 farmers and loggers just before the Civil War. The War divided the loyalties of the region's residents. Most fought for the South, but many sided with the North. This division was intensified after the War when the Ku Klux Klan thrived on opposition to Union sympathizers and meddling carpetbaggers. In 1869, martial law was declared in the northern part of the region to resist KKK terrorism, but the order was ineffective. Today, the region's black population is less than two percent of the total.

The first half of the twentieth century saw significant population and economic growth in the region, caused primarily by the coal boom. Although most of the coal operations occurred in the eastern half of the region, related service needs boosted the overall economy. The coal industry peaked in the 1930s and 1940s, then began to decline rapidly through the 1950s. The same woman who described Laural Mountain above has lived in the area since birth. Her father and grandfather both worked in deep shaft mines during the '40s and '50s, and she described that period as a time of much greater social and economic activity than is the case today. "Why, there was even a movie theater in Laural Springs back then. Can you believe that? There's nothing over there now."

Since the coal mines have shut down and logging has decreased in size and labor-intensity, many adults have been unable to find replacement jobs close to home. Shirt factories and furniture mills provide some employment for women and men respectively, but usually at minimum wage unless one drives 30 or more miles to Jackson City. One adult in twelve still raises beef cattle, grows tobacco or corn, logs the woods, or digs for coal. Male unemployment is higher than female unemployment,

the reverse of the national picture. The average weekly wage in 1974 was $100-140, and over one-fourth of all the Highland families had incomes below the U.S. poverty level.

Since 1970, a turnabout of a 15 year recession has been evident. In-migration now exceeds out-migration for the first time in almost 30 years. New light industry, some of it from European firms, has located in the region, attracted by relatively low TVA power rates and cheap non-union labor. More professionals are coming into the area, part of the increasing preference of many educated middle-class families to live in non-metropolitan areas. Inflation is cutting into all private and public budgets and unemployment remains high (official rate of 5 to 6% during 1978), but continued growth in tax bases offsets the need to curtail municipal services significantly.

A more detailed demographic picture of the three counties included in this study may be found in the appendix.

Political Structures

There are two county-level political structures that have direct influence over educational programs. These are, in order of proximity and impact, the school board and the county court. Both of these are elected bodies made up of men who are native residents of the counties and who in the past have represented the prosperous agrarian classes. More recently, retail merchants and professionals (lawyers and teachers) have been elected to these two bodies although they constitute a minority of the membership. Although there are no formal requirements for the offices of county judge and school superintendent, these two figures usually hold considerable power by virtue of their expert knowledge of laws and educational practice respectively. David Looff (1971) describes the central role of these two figures:

> The elected county judge, who is the county's chief administrative officer, and the . . . county school superintendent are the two most powerful people in the county. They govern much of its affairs through leadership roles in politics, through control of public moneys, and, frequently and classicly, through job patronage. Much local talk centers on these people. (pp. 154-155)

Partially because the members of the county court and school board hold significant commercial or agricultural assets, their voting records are fiscally conservative, assuring little need for increased tax rates. (The largest source of tax revenue is the local property tax.)

County Courts

The county court consists of 15 members elected for four year terms. Although the elections usually occur on a staggered basis so that only a portion of the court is up for election every other year, during 1978 all county courts were ordered by a new state law to reduce their size from 20 to 15 members and reapportion accordingly. This meant that the entire court membership, including the county judge, had to stand for re-election. Although the elections did not significantly change the complexion of the courts, the reduced size and reapportionment does mean that constituencies have shifted and there is a general feeling of a new era in the history of the courts themselves.

Much of the county courts' business focuses on fiscal concerns. Setting the tax rates occupies most of the agenda during the summer months. Any county expenditure other than school-related expenditures must be approved by the court. Other court business includes the appointment of county officers such as notaries public, deputy sheriffs, the road agent, and tax assessors; review and approval of the county school budget; debate on allowing new industrial growth in the county; issuance of bonds for capital improvement projects; discussion of road conditions; etc. The courts meet once a month for sessions that last from one to four hours.

The county judge is not a member of the court per se, but is elected by the court members at the beginning of each year as their chairman.

Public attendance at court meetings varies with the issues to be discussed. Meetings at which tax rates are set have the highest attendance. In Hickory County, several court meetings were observed. Attendance ranged from 30 to 60 people, with all but a handful of these being men. Audience members are not supposed to participate in any of the business before the court, but this rule is only loosely enforced. Most of the audience has some direct tie to the court or to the business at hand.

The voting behavior of the court members is marked by public unanimity except when major fiscal decisions are made. Much of the give and take of the political process occurs in formal committee meetings between court sessions (e.g., standing committees might include an education committee to work with the school board in developing a yearly budget, an agricultural extension committee, or a highway committee) or through informal contacts in which special interest groups are heard or logrolling arrangements may be set.

Questions of fiscal matters are not acted upon quickly by the county courts. Setting the tax rates may be debated over two or three meetings. This slow pace may frustrate those affected by the pending decision, and may be perceived as causing greater problems. In one county where a new high school was proposed, prolonged debate was blamed for a $2 million cost increase over the original estimate. Both a school board member and the school superintendent, on separate occasions, drew a direct connection between the delay and the increased cost.

The central political figure in the county is the county judge. He holds more power than any other individual by virtue of his elected

office and his role as chairman of the county court. Frequently, the judges are physicians or lawyers who hold technical knowledge not common to the community. Occasionally, a non-professional person may be elected, as was the case in Hickory County where an auto-parts dealer became judge in 1978. The judges often control the hiring process to fill a variety of civil service positions within the county government. This power may be used to hire relatives of the judge or relatives of his supporters. A regional public health administrator referred to this in relation to staffing his program at the county level:

> Frankly, the biggest headache we have with the county judges is in the hiring area. They want to hire people that they know, their friends or their own family. We have a hard time dealing with them on that, even more than if we want to transfer somebody out of their county.

Judges frequently fulfill their roles through personal attention to a constituent's needs. At a regional meeting of professionals concerned with children, one county judge was observed describing a three-year old mentally retarded child who was not receiving services. He spoke for five minutes on the stresses the family was facing, their inability to find appropriate services, the "just pitiful" child who needed help, etc. He pleaded with the group to help him find resources for the child and family, saying, "I don't know what to do. It seems like we've tried everything. I'd be grateful for any help you people can give me on this." At a later meeting of the same group, a different judge described his personal interest in the needs of children and families:

> Nobody goes hungry in "Pike County" and no child goes without clothes if I know about it. I guess we provide for just about every need there is in my county. It takes a lot of money to do this but as long as I'm judge, that's the way it's going to be.

To give the reader a concrete sense of the functions and activities of the county court, an extensive protocol from the field notes is included below describing a Hickory County Court meeting at which the school budget was debated and the tax rate set.

> This is the first meeting of the county court that was elected in August. There are 7 out of 15 new members on the county court and a new county judge, Billy Higgins.
>
> The meeting took place at the old "Claver" Academy. We arrived at 7:00; there were still 15-25 men standing in front of the building talking quietly in small groups and an additional 10 or so men standing in the entranceway and just inside the school building. The county court room is upstairs in an old audio-visual room; it is air conditioned but the air conditioner is not very efficient.
>
> At about 7:10 the remainder of the crowd that was waiting outside filed into the room. A majority of the county court members were among that group; some county court members were already sitting in the room but most filed in at the last minute and sat down together. As several of them walked down the center aisle I heard one of the audience members call out to one of the court members, "Have you got everything all set?" and the court member said, "Oh yeah, everything's taken care of."
>
> The first item of business, after Billy Higgins struck his gavel three times, was the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting. There was an immediate motion to not read those minutes. The motion passed unanimously.
>
> The next item of business was to elect a chairman of the county court for the period of one year. Higgins said this is part of the new law passed by the state legislature concerning the reorganization of the county courts. He said that one name had been placed in nomination, that of Billy Higgins. He asked if there were any further nominations to be placed before the court. There were none. There was a motion to close the nominations and accept the list as it now stood. Motion was passed. Then there was a motion to elect Higgins chairman. It passed unanimously.
>
> Higgins then assumed his official role as chairman of the county court and delivered a five minute summary of how he would like the county court run during the coming year, saying, "As chairman, I would like to welcome you to serving on the county court of Hickory County. If you ever want to be recognized, you will raise your hand; you will not be recognized unless you raise your hand. We do not expect anybody in the audience to talk. The audience has one purpose in being here, and that's to hear the members of the county court. If any member of the audience has anything to say, they should first contact their county court

member and have them bring the issue up before the county court. This county court will be operated in an orderly manner as long as I'm chairman. That's the way it will be."

He then announced that he wished to appoint a parlimentarian for the county court. He nominated a county court member who is also the principal/teacher at a small elementary school in the county. There were no other nominations. The vote was unanimous, although it was much more weakly voiced than the previous two votes. Only 5-6 voices were actually heard.

[Observer's comment: The only familiar face that I recognized when I came in was that of James Qualls (school superintendent) sitting in the front row to the far right of the room. Then as I looked around the room I noticed two teachers who were at the school board meeting last week, sitting in the front row at the extreme left. There were 3 uniformed police officers in the room during the meeting. None of the county court members or the county court judge had on ties. Many of them had on work clothes, jeans, work boots; almost all of the men had crew cuts; there were 3-4 men all of whom were under 40 who did not have crew cuts, but all of those who were over 40, which is the vast majority of the county court, did.]

The next item on the agenda was a report on the status of a law suit the county is now facing.[1] Higgins reported on the ruling of the circuit judge last week who found that the county was at fault and that the defendants were in the right in seeking the cost-of-living raises. Higgins said that the county's attorney has recommended the county go ahead and set the tax rate based on the amount required should the law suit eventually be lost on appeal, and to place this amount in escrow pending a final outcome of the case. Higgins ended this point by saying, "We need to decide tonight whether or not to take this case all the way to the supreme court." As soon as he finished his report with that statement, Doc Williams (previous county judge) raised his hand, stood up and said, "I move to appeal the judge's decision." He sat back down. There was immediately a second. Higgins then said, "Dr. Williams, do you have any explanation of that?" Cecil Williams got back up again, holding several papers and a volume of the state code in his hand. He went around from where he was sitting to the front of the room to a podium with a mike on it (the mike wasn't hooked up), opened up his code book and said, "The reason I think it's important to appeal this decision is because the-cost-of living in 1975 was 11%, but according to the State Code Annotated Regulation 517, Section 2, 'The annual cost-of-living raise shall

---

[1]Hickory County has been sued by several past county officials for back pay. The county has not implemented state-mandated cost-of-living raises that were to begin in 1975. One court member said, "This lawsuit is really slapping the taxpayers in the face. [The plaintiffs] knew what the salaries were when they ran for office. It is unconstitutional for the state legislature to pass laws which tell elected representatives how to vote." The amount in question is about $50,000 in back pay and $32,000 in damages.

not exceed 102-½% of the salary of the previous fiscal year.'" He went into a lengthy citation of the State Code and compared the ceilings on the salary raises allowed by the State Code with the actual cost-of-living index for each year, saying that he thought the law was contradictory and that they could prove in court that there was nothing in the law that actually stated that they had to raise the county official's salary by a certain amount each year. (During his arguments he did refer to 1 or 2 of the county court members as "Squire," which is an older term used to refer to justices of the peace.) He then went on to argue that it would not be that expensive to take the case to the supreme court. He said there were rumors around that it would cost "a quarter of million dollars" to appeal it. But he said that he has talked with their attorney and asked him if he would take the case for $10,000 if he lost or $15,000 if he won. The attorney was willing to take it on that basis.

Doc Williams pointed out that the law as it is now written is "not for equality, you can't discriminate against county officials like this. One year the teachers got $150 raise and we didn't get any and the other county officials didn't get any raise." He said that rather than being concerned about spending a lot of money now, that the county court should think about how much it is going to cost if they do have to continue to give annual cost-of-living raises. He said, "It would be $50,000 from now to eternity if we lose this case. What's that compared to even half a million dollars?"

There were no questions or comments after he finished his presentation and sat back down. There was then a vote on the motion to appeal the case. The vote in favor was unanimous.

After the voice vote was taken, Doc Williams said, "I think this issue is so important even though there is a unanimous vote, we should have a roll call." So the roll was then called and everybody again voted "aye." There was a question about how much the tax rate would go up if they were to create an account now and begin to pay on the possible damages. The county auditor has figured that the tax rate will go up 43¢ if they do set aside enough money to cover the costs of back pay plus damages. They have agreed at this point only to pay the $5,000 charged to them by a private investigator hired to look into the charges and that amount has already been paid by the city of Claver.

For the next item of business, Higgins submitted four names to have the authority to purchase surplus property in Nashville; this included himself, the county sheriff and two other people.

Doc Williams then made a motion to replace one of the names Higgins had submitted. The current civil defense commissioner was replaced by Dr. White with another individual. There was considerable laughter by 4 or 5 of the justices of the peace while he was making this presentation. I did not catch what the source of that was or whether or not that was related to the motion. Again, the motion was unanimous, and the ayes were voiced very strongly.

[Observer's comment: It appears at this point, about 20-25 minutes into the meeting, that Williams is still very much in control of the county court, and he is able to manipulate Higgins without too much trouble at all.]

Higgins then brought up the next item of business, saying the person who had been elected constable in the first district of the county couldn't be sworn in because the state had refused to bond the individual. It is the authority of the county court to replace a constable whenever there is a vacancy in that elected position. The county court does have the authority to appoint a new person for a 2 year period.

There was then a question from a justice of the peace. "What would happen if we don't do anything?" Higgins replied, "Well, the position would simply die; it just would not be there anymore." The justice of the peace who asked the question, Bobby Dan Wilder, then said, "I move we don't do anything." Then there was a question from Higgins to the newly elected sheriff, who said, "I don't know what the duties of the constable are; I really don't know anything about it yet."

[Observer's comment: The person who made the motion not to do anything, Wilder, is one of the younger county court members. He was on the county court in the previous session. I remember him as being very out-spoken and somewhat hostile from a previous meeting I attended.]

Wilder was arguing forcefully, "We don't need anybody to take the dead rabbits off the road; we just paid a big contract to have that done."

There was then a vote on the motion. Again it was unanimous, although this time it was quite weakly voiced.

At this point, Higgins motioned to somebody in the audience to come up for consultation. A gentleman arose from the audience and approached the bench where Higgins was sitting. They spoke quietly for a minute. Higgins had a piece of paper in his hand and was asking some questions concerning the information on the paper. The gentleman then sat back down. Higgins said the next item of business was an offer by the previous sheriff to sell an air conditioner which is now installed in the jail. The sheriff paid for it out of his own pocket. He said he would take $400 for the air conditioner. The new sheriff told Higgins that the jail definitely needs one. Higgins also said there is a fence for sale which initially cost $920. The ex-sheriff would take $600. There was a motion by Mr. Poston to pay for the air conditioner, but he didn't know about the fence. He asked, "Where's the money going to come from?" When Higgins was unable to answer, the county clerk replied, "From the jail maintenance account."

There was a roll call on the vote to purchase the air conditioner--13 yes, 2 no.

There was a question to the new sheriff: "Is the fence useful?" His reply was, "If you moved it around back, it would be useful." Wilder said, "I want to make sure that all the new county court members know that we talked about this fence all year last year and we refused to buy it. That fence was put up without the court's approval. The old court refused to pay for that fence ever since it was put up." There was then a motion to get a cost-estimate to see what a new fence would cost before purchasing the existing fence. Then there was a question directed at the new sheriff about the purpose of the fence; if it would be used for prisoners to have some recreation space in the back. He replied, "Yes."

There was unanimous consent to get a cost-estimate for a new fence rather than purchasing the existing fence.

Wilder then raised his hand and said, "I want to make a motion that, starting tonight, an agenda be made up for every meeting on the items we're going to talk about at that meeting; and, at the end of each meeting, when we have items that we're going to need to talk about at the next meeting, that a list be made up and be publicized before the next meeting. All those items will be dealt with the first thing on the agenda each evening. It seems like we're always leaving things to be decided next week and then we always forget to act upon them so I think something needs to be done about that."

There was a unanimous vote in support of the motion.

The next item was to approve the bonding of the sheriff's deputies. The new sheriff had previously submitted a list of about 15 names to Higgins to be deputized and to be read by Higgins. [I counted a total of 4 names on the list identical to that of the new sheriff.] There was a unanimous vote to approve that list as presented.

The next item of business concerned renovations at the jail. Last week, 10 of the county court members, Higgins and the sheriff, visited the jail to see what kind of condition it was in. It was determined that a new stove and freezer would need to be purchased, in addition to 5 beds and a dishwasher. They secured bids and purchased the stove and freezer and were asking tonight for the approval of that purchase and approval of the purchase of the dishwasher.

A question was asked what the low bids were and where they were from. Higgins was unable to answer those questions and had to turn to the county court clerk for help. There was some confusion on what the county court was voting on at this point, whether they were voting to buy the stove and freezer and dishwasher; or whether they were voting to approve the purchase of the stove and freezer which had already taken place and then go ahead and buy the dishwasher. Bobby Dan Wilder raised his hand and explained the motion that he had submitted. [His tone of voice seemed quite strident.] A vote was taken to approve the purchase of the stove and freezer. It passed unanimously.

[It was not clear to me (and perhaps others) what the status of the purchase of the dishwasher was as a result of the vote.]

The next item of business on the agenda was the school budget. The superintendent, James Qualls, got up and went to the front of the room, facing the audience from the same podium that Doc Williams had used. Qualls said that he had talked with many of the members of the county court over the past couple of months in small groups and he had tried to speak individually with as many county court members as he could. He said he had met with the budget committee and Judge Higgins several times in the past month. He said the fact that the tax rate had not been set by this point was hurting the school and the children very much. "I'll just leave it to you people to decide what you want to do. We have to set the tax rate now or else we're going to start running in the red. Do you have any questions?"

The first question was what was the recommendation of the court's budget committee. Higgins said, "Well, the budget committee was myself and Mr. Wilder and Odell Gore. The proposed increase in the school budget would mean a $1.19 increase over the present $3 tax. In dollar terms, that means a $303,000 increase over their present budget."

Qualls gave each member an itemized list of the new expenditures and said that just to pay for those things that have been mandated by the legislature and to give the teachers a slight cost-of-living raise are all that is included under new expenditures. "It's just that it's caught up with us after all this time; it's because we haven't raised the tax level for a long time and haven't raised the budget for a very long time. We have two choices: either cut back on services or try to meet the educational needs of the children in this county. We really don't have a lot of choice if you come down to it. Of course, it's entirely up to you. I can't tell you fellows which way to vote on this. We've been fortunate in the past 4 years and I'm so proud of that."

Higgins and Qualls then conferred quietly together.

Another question from a county court member: "What's the recommendation of the budget committee?"

Higgins' response: "I don't think we came up with any conclusion."

Qualls then talked about how the beer and property tax are now supporting the schools. It's getting hard on people to keep on raising the taxeas, and he knows that. He said, "I'll be more than glad at any time to sit down with any one of you fellows and go over each expenditure line by line. I just want to emphasize again, it's not just me asking for the money. It's not just James Qualls up here asking you for the money. This school system belongs to the whole county. I'm sure not going to ask for anything that we don't need or we don't want. I hope we can start on

this process early next year, in the spring, so that when fall comes along, we'll be able to have a good budget that everybody can agree on."

Again a question from a court member: "Doesn't the budget committee have any recommendation on this?"

At this point, Otis Poston stood up to speak in opposition to the proposed budget. He said, "I have studied this budget line by line and I know the children in this county need some education; there's no doubt about that. But on the other hand, somebody in this country is going to have to use some blamed horse sense and stop spending so much money. Now what are these items called 'other' anyway? I asked Mr. Qualls what all those meant and he told me what each one was, but we've got $70-80,000 listed under 'other' here. We can't vote for that. Right now there's $1.80 of the total tax bill that goes towards the schools plus there's an additional 75¢ on our debt service that's actually going back to the schools."

[Observer's comment: During this time, James Qualls was looking quite bored and tired; his eyes were half closed; his arms were folded across his chest and he would frequently look up at the ceiling while Mr. Poston was speaking.]

Mr. Poston: "The tax rate would go from--" He did not finish the sentence. "I just can't vote for that suit; there's a problem here. We still don't know how much the court suit's going to cost us. If we have to raise the tax rate by 43¢ plus what the school board is asking, we won't be able to afford it. I want to wait and see what the court decides and see how much that's going to cost us. We're already talking about over a $4 tax rate if we stay with Mr. Qualls' budget." Mr. Poston then referred to a school board member, saying, "Now Mr. Stone, he's a member of the school board and he put an ad in the paper awhile back that said we have one teacher who's useless and we've got some others that don't do no good. We've got a lady that don't do a thing but write menus. The lowest teacher in this county gets around $9,900 and I know of another teacher who gets $16,000. The superintendent now, he's a good man, Mr. Qualls' a nice fellow. I like him and he's doing a good job, but he's getting $22,000."

James Qualls continued to look at the ceiling with his arms crossed.

Higgins now asked a clarifying question of Mr. Poston, "Are you not recommending the $1.19? If you don't recommend the $1.19, do you want to hold it at nothing?"

Poston's reply: "I don't know how many enemies I got in this court. I probably got a lot more since I came on here, but I just can't go with this $1.19."

Qualls now interrupted: "I'd like a minute or two of the people's time here. Yes, that's exactly right. There are a lot

of things that can be cut, but people, somebody's going to suffer. We could cut transportation. We could cut athletics, there's no doubt about that. I've tried to propose a near adequate school system for our boys and girls. This is as much as I could cut it, I think. Those items on the budget sheet are primarily from laws passed down to us by the state and federal government and we've got to live with those things. The only variance that we're allowed is what comes from you people, the taxpayers of Hickory County. If we continue to operate on the same budget, somebody is going to be here asking for more money each year; we have to pay more each year to the state and federal government and this is no different; that we should have to pay a little more each year in our own county taxes. If I tell you anything that's not right, it's because I don't know any better. I just want to be honest with all of you. The starting salary we have in this county now is around $9,800-9,900 and we're still one of the lowest paying in this area. We've got one of the smallest office staffs in the state. I checked about 6 counties our own size and I know we've got one of the smallest staffs. You fellows can come down there any day you want to and take a look at that. The only reason I'm standing here tonight is that I care about the children of Hickory County. I've got two of my own and I'm mighty proud of that and those children deserve at least a minimal education program. I know I'm downing James Qualls by saying this but that's all we've had for the last 4 years, just a minimal program. I'm just trying to improve the educational system in this county.

"I've probably got one of the largest families in the county. We pay more taxes than anybody else as a group. At Christmas time, when we all get together, I've got to be there with my brothers and sisters and they say it's because of you we've got to pay so many taxes each year. I've got to look those people in the eye, and I've got to look my children in the eye, and tell them why we don't have as good a school system as I'd like to have. Now, Mr. Poston here, he mentioned Mr. Stone. He's a good board member, he's a real good board member. He's not married; he doesn't have any children. But he said at the last school board meeting that he'd vote to raise his own taxes because he thinks the schools are that important in this county."

Mr. Poston stood up: "People, I'm not agin education. But look at all these expenditures we've got now. We can't keep up with everything. Look at that courthouse down there; that courthouse is a lawyer's paradise. A few years ago we passed a bond here to build a $3 million school and it cost $6 million. Now we need a new jail. Look at what's happened there at Center Springs school. They're taking a ride. The school board intended to let that one go. I know they're not telling anybody but I bet they do close that one down. There's not a human being here that can tell us what this county's worth; we really don't know what it's worth so how can we set the tax rate anyway? But we do know that we've got a $3 tax rate right now and by next year it'll be $5 or $5½ if we don't put a stop to this sometime. I was elected by the people. If they come to me, I'll vote for it, even though I'm agin it. If people tell me that's what they want then I'll vote for it."

Again, a question from a court member: "Well, what do you recommend?" This was addressed to Higgins.

Higgins' reply: "I can't hardly recommend a $1.19 but I also can't hardly recommend not increasing it at all. I know the bus drivers in the county here are getting $402 per month and that's really not very much money. I don't know very many people around that'd work for that kind of money. Mr. Qualls told me that if we cut the budget that he'd go back and work out with the school board where they're going to cut, but he might have to come back next spring and ask for more if they run out of money by then."[2]

Higgins then directed a question to a member of the audience about the total worth of the county. This fellow was at the previous county court meeting and I assume he is the county auditor. He said that the county's worth is about $28 million, but he did not know exactly. The legislature recently cut the taxes on utilities in half in the county which meant a loss of revenue to the county.

Wilder then interjected, "Well, I don't think we should pay the court fine unless we have to. There's no reason to pay for something until we're sure we're going to have to."

A member of the audience stood up and said, "I think I need to point out a few things and make a few clarifications here." He had a number of papers and books under his arm, was smoking a large cigar, had a white shirt on with a tie. His shirt was open at the collar. He had on tinted lenses and was dressed more modishly and urbanely than any other person in the audience and the county court. He is the circuit court judge for Hickory County. He explained the nature of the state law requiring the payment of the cost-of-living raises. [He is one of the plaintiffs in the suit.] He mentioned in passing that right now the county only has one set of the State Codes Annotated and that they'd have to buy 4 additional sets in order to have them available to the judge and the county court.

Wilder then made a motion to move the books from their present location to a new location at the renovated courthouse.

Nobody seconded the motion, so he continued to speak. "I have a point of order. I thought that we voted on the suit an hour ago. In all the years I've been in the court, we've always run in the black. I don't think we should be spending now on things that we haven't even been billed for yet."

Higgins: "Now getting back to James Qualls' school budget. That's the only one we haven't set yet. I think we need to set that."

---

[2]By March of the following year, the school board had to stop providing transportation services due to a severe money shortage.

By this time, the judge had sat down. He had been before the court for 5-6 minutes.

Bobby Dan Wilder stated, "I cannot in good conscience vote for this tax raise."

Higgins: "Well, then how much would you vote for?"

Wilder: "I won't make a recommendation. I don't want the rest of the court to blindly follow some recommendation that the budget committee makes. I'll be frank with you. I don't know what to do. But I don't think I should just make a recommendation because these fellows need to decide for themselves what to do."

After this Wilder turned around and conferred privately with 3-4 other county court members all sitting very close to him.

Doc Williams: "We've already set $1.20 on the tax rate. We've got 20¢ set aside for the county and a dollar for the debt service. Last year the school tax was $1.80."

Qualls had gone to take an empty seat with the county court members while the circuit judge was speaking. After Doc Williams' comment, he got up and went back to the podium and said, "I have one question now. There are 2 items that are putting us in a bind here. We had a lack of tax revenue last year that we had anticipated coming in, so we weren't quite able to make some of the payments that we had thought. The cost-of-living increase alone is about $107,000. We need to raise the taxeas by 50¢ to make that $107,000; that is to just keep even with where we were last year. We might get by on that but it might just as well take more next year to get by."

There was then a motion to set the tax rate at $2.10, which is a 30¢ increase. This is based on an anticipated increase of total wealth of the county of $2 million. Each $2,400 of county assets will generate 1¢ in property tax revenues. A 30¢ increase would hold the county budget at exactly the same place as last year.

Qualls' response: "Whatever you do, I'll promise we'll operate as carefully as possible. We'll just try to get by with whatever you fellows decide. It's going to be hard but we'll just do the best we can."

At this point someone introduced a motion to pass a resolution by the county court forbidding smoking in the room. The gentleman complained he'd been sitting there for a couple of hours and his eyes were hurting and he couldn't breathe.

Higgins' reply: "Can't we wait and vote on that later? We've already got a couple of motions on the floor." The consensus from the county court was no, that they wanted to go ahead and vote on the smoking resolution. There was a voice vote taken and I heard 2-3 nays expressed. The motion to give the school board a 30¢ tax

increase was repeated. There was a call for a roll call vote. There were 10 no's and 5 yes's.

There was a motion to increase the tax rate by 25¢. On this there were 11 yes's and 4 no's.

James Qualls' closing comments: "I'll just promise to do my best; that's all I can do. I may have to come back here later on if we run out of money."

One of the members then said: "Well, in the future it would be helpful if you would itemize all those 'other' categories on the budget. We just don't know what those are."

Qualls' reply: "I'd be proud to."

Then there was a question from Higgins to Odell Gore: "You were the chairman of the budget committee weren't you?"

Gore's reply: "No, that was Mr. Wilder."

Wilder looked up surprised: "Don't use my name in that. I wasn't the chairman. That was Odell."

At this point, the tax rate for the schools had been set and there was a lot of discussion by the audience and court members among themselves. There was a motion to take a 10 minute recess. We went out into the hall and spoke briefly with Superintendent Qualls, who said he was not surprised at the quarter increase. He expected beforehand that would be the amount the court would accept.

We were exhausted from the two hours of observation and decided to leave. We later learned that only 15 minutes of routine business was conducted after the recess.

School Boards

Like the county courts, school boards are elected bodies made up of men who represent specific communities. The county superintendent's position parallels that of the county judge--the superintendent is elected and oversees but is not an official member of the school board. And, there are no particular requirements to hold the office, although the superintendent is often an expert in educational matters. The lay board defers frequently to the superintendent's recommendations. Also like the courts, board members are elected on a staggered basis so there is some continuity of membership after each election.

Most boards contain five to eight members. The Hickory County board consisted of a building contractor, a dairy farmer, a self-taught tax consultant, the manager of the county farmer's co-op, and a clerk in the village department store. There are no prescribed qualifications for board members, other than that they live in the district they represent. Educational background may range from completion of eighth grade to a bachelor's degree.

The school board meets on a designated evening once a month. The meetings last from one to four hours, but the board members will frequently stay on after adjournment for informal talks about local politics, crops, town gossip, joke-telling, etc. Such talk may last until midnight or one o'clock in the morning. During the meetings, business is conducted through informal discussion under the direction of the chairman. Although there is a chairman elected by the board members annually, most of the factual information is provided by the superintendent, who sits next to the chairman and who sets the evening's agenda with the chairman prior to the meeting. Also present at board meetings are local newspaper reporters, school staff with an interest in some specific agenda item, interested citizens concerned about a specific issue, and other staff who come out of curiosity or habit but who have no direct interest at stake.

Business items focus on purchase of coal contracts for heating buildings; negotiation of private bus contracts for districts that do not own their own busses; hiring, promotion, transfer, and termination of personnel; purchase of insurance policies; funding of athletic programs; disciplining students who may have committed a serious rule infraction such as drinking beer or smoking marijuana on school grounds;

and reapportioning teachers as enrollment changes across various schools. Again like the county courts, many of the public decisions are made through unanimous consent. Voice votes are taken on most issues, with no call for the "nays" if unanimity is apparent. Roll call votes are requested on some issues that may be seen as controversial so that the newspaper will publish the names of who voted for and against such items. Board business is generally not concerned with specific matters of curriculum content, teaching methodology, staff scheduling, or contact with parents. These matters are all in the hands of building principals who may also hold part-time teaching duties in the smaller elementary schools.

Hiring and transferring staff generates the most controversy in board politics. Board members receive considerable pressure in the form of phone calls, petitions, and personal visits from citizens seeking employment or from friends and relatives of people applying for a job or transfer. The school boards are publicly resistant to making such decisions on the basis of personal connections, but the role of family ties is central. For example, superintendents in two counties have wives who are school employees, and they seem to receive whatever assignment is requested.

In one of these counties, the superintendent also has a sister who is an elementary school teacher; and, another central office administrator had a brother who was principal of an elementary school. Such kin ties are also present within schools. In one elementary school, a fifth-grade teacher is the mother of the principal. In another case, a basketball coach wanted his son transferred to his school so the son could be the assistant coach. The board disapproved this not on the grounds of nepotism but because they felt an assistant coach was

unnecessary. One county resident described the school board hiring practice as: "just politics. They hire their friends or kin. The county court does the same thing. If it wasn't for politics, things wouldn't be so bad."

Highland Regional Planning Agency (HRPA)

During the late 1960s, the Appalachian Regional Commission, the Economic Development Administration of the U.S. Department of Commerce, and the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare began to channel certain funds through the states to regional planning agencies that could then allocate program grants and loans to local communities. The planning agencies represent geographically distinct regions of a dozen or more counties. The HRPA was formed in 1968. As their publicity brochure describes it, the HRPA "is neither a federal nor a state agency. It is not a 'new layer of government.' It is a voluntary federation of local governments, formed for the common good of all--that is, the nearly 200,000 persons living in the Highland Region." The HRPA is governed by a 62-member Board of Directors and a 24-member Executive Committee. This includes all of the region's county judges, the mayors of all incorporated towns, one industrial representative from each county, a minority representative, and a state senator and state representative from the region. The full Board meets annually, and the Executive Committee meets every two months.

The major purpose of the HRPA is to assess the economic and social needs of the region and allocate public funds to meet those needs. Some of the development projects to which the HRPA allocates funds include highway improvement, sewage treatment facility construction, park development, vocational high school planning, small business loans, construction of public housing projects, fire department communication

equipment purchases, renovation of county courthouses, flood repair, hospital and mental health facility improvement, etc.

One area that is growing in importance in terms of dollar amount and energy devoted to it is child development. Each planning agency in the state includes a regional child development specialist (CDS) responsible for planning, coordination, and technical assistance to programs serving children from birth to eighteen years of age. The regional CDS's salary and support expenses come from ARC funds. It is the responsibility of the CDS to represent the interests of children's programs before the HRPA Board. She (the four specialists in the HRPA have all been women) serves as a key figure by making program needs known to the Board and by providing information to local programs concerning grant applications and deadlines, changes in state and federal regulations, new monies available, and the funding interests of the Board. Although she plays a central role in the eyes of local programs, her position within the HRPA is minor compared to those who oversee highway, sewage, and public safety program development. Only in the past year has the Board created a Child Development Advisory Committee to work with the CDS on needs assessment and priority setting. The more traditional economic development areas have had such advisory committees for several years.

In addition to the "in-house" advisory committee, which meets only two or three times a year, there is a region-wide Children's Services Council (CSC). This Council is an independent, incorporated body made up of service providers, county officials, private professionals. university staff, and interested citizens. Members join the CSC for $5.00 per year (when someone remembers to collect dues) and meet monthly. The CSC elects its own officers, but relies heavily on the

expert knowledge provided by the Child Development Specialist, who sits as an ex-officio member of the CSC Executive Committee. Although the CSC is intended to be representative of a range of community interests, its membership has been dominated by social service professionals.

During the summer of 1978, the CSC conducted a region-wide survey to identify needs in the area of children's services. The purpose of the survey was double-edged. First, the survey results were to inform the HRPA Child Development Advisory Committee as it prioritized child development programs for the coming fiscal year. Second, the survey results were to be included in a state-wide plan for improving children's services that would be presented to the newly elected governor who would be taking office in January 1979. Table 1 presents the 10 criteria used by the Advisory Committee in the priority setting process. Note the reference in two places to the need for programs not restricted to a certain income level. This theme will be discussed at greater length in Chapter V.

Although there was some concern expressed in the CSC that the survey should be representative of the citizens of the region, it was also recognized that the results were not "exact data" and were biased by the selection of respondents. At the meeting at which the survey was planned, a school superintendent asked, "Have you given any thought as to how you will choose the people to talk to to make sure it's a good sample?" The CSC chairman said, "Well, you just decide that yourself. You make sure that you talk to a variety of people." By November, 172 surveys had been returned to the Child Development Specialist. A breakdown of the respondents is found in Table 2.

TABLE 1

CHILD DEVELOPMENT RATING CRITERIA

	Rating criteria	Points
1.	Provides needed facility or service not presently available in the proposed geographical area	8
2.	Improves or expands services already provided	8
3.	Serves more than one jurisdiction	6
4.	Serves concentrations of children	5
5.	Serves all income levels (not restricted to poverty guidelines)	5
6.	Local support funds have been appropriated or set aside	5
7.	Program or service meets two or more child development needs	8
8.	Provides support/encouragement for present industry or in attracting prospective industry	5
9.	Serves minority or handicapped children (not restricted to income level	5
10.	Special consideration by advisory committee	5
	Total:	60

TABLE 2

SOURCES FOR REGIONAL NEEDS ASSESSMENT

Type of respondent	Number of surveys completed
Social workers and other welfare case workers	30
Education personnel	48
Health personnel	31
City or county officials	15
Child care providers	15
Juvenile corrections personnel	1
Housewives	5
Citizens	37

There were no uniform definitions of these respondents, so it is difficult to tell how a "county official," "housewife," or "citizen" were categorized. Clearly the views of professionals were solicited more often than those of lay citizens.

The survey identified 14 service areas in which there was a need for development of new programs or expansion of existing ones. Below is a rank-order list of those areas mentioned most frequently with the number of times each was identified as a need.

TABLE 3

RESULTS OF REGIONAL NEEDS ASSESSMENT

Service area	Frequency of response
Nutrition	102
Parks with supervised play	98
Preschool daycare	96
Parent education	94
Infant daycare	88
Child abuse treatment	85
Juvenile summer employment	81
Drug and alcohol abuse programs	75
After-school daycare	73
After-school employment for juveniles	73
Family counseling as part of juvenile court	69
Dental care	68
Preventive mental health	67
Counseling	67

In October 1978, the Children's Services Council met with the Executive Director of the Highland Regional Planning Agency to review the status of the survey and the Board's priority setting. Some of the CSC members had requested this meeting because they were concerned over the degree to which the CSC was able to influence the HRPA Board's decision-making. What follows is an excerpt from field notes taken at the meeting. The excerpt is presented to provide another picture of group process within a regional political structure.

The first item of business concerned membership. The Chairman explained that,"the CSC, in its role as advisory committee to the Highland Regional Planning Agency and to the State Office of Child and Family Services, is now broadening its responsibility and its role. It is important to get a representative from each county so that the needs of the region can be made known to the legislators in the state capital."

Child Development Specialist: "I'm open for suggestions; however you want to do it. I don't think that I know exactly what to do. I'd like the members to respond."

There was no response at all on this item of business.

The next item concerned meeting time. The Chairman said perhaps one reason they were having trouble with membership is that the time they are presently meeting is not a good time to meet for many people, however he said that as long as he could remember, it's always met the same day. He wanted to know what "the pleasure of the group" was. Again, there was no response to this question.

The next item concerned the nominating committee. The Chairman said that according to the by-laws, every year at this time a nominating committee had to be set up so that officers could be elected in November and begin serving their new terms in December. He said, "We need a committee to come up with a slate of officers to vote into office in December. What we need is a five-person committee. Is that big enough do you think?" No response. "I want five volunteers. Not all from the same agency or from the same county. I think we should spread it around a little bit. Who will volunteer?" Silence. "No volunteers?" More silence. "Well, I suppose we could do it like in the Army, you know, I guess I could appoint some volunteers."

Supt. #1: "I nominate (Supt. #2) for the post."

Supt. #2: "No, I don't think I should do it. I don't know the people here. Gosh, I bet I couldn't name four people in this room right now. I think you should get somebody that knows the people more than me."

Supt. #1: "You're a politician."

Supt. #2: "Now if I do serve on the nominating committee, I'll nominate (Supt. #1) as the head. Get (Title I Director), he knows everybody here."

Title I Director: "Well, I will if nobody else will. Seems like we should maybe get some of the younger people here."

Chairman: "(Public Health Administrator), you'll volunteer."

PH Administrator: "Alright, I guess I will if (Title I Director) does."

[Observer's comment: The Title I Director is an employee of Supt. #2, and the Public Health Administrator is an employee of the Chairman.]

CDS: "Is working through a committee a possibility?" There was no response.

Chairman: "This silence don't offend me. I'm not going to move until you say something."

CDS: "We need to approach this as a group. I can't speak for all of you. I don't want to." Followed by about 15 seconds of silence.

One of the women in the audience then said: "Why don't you go ahead and appoint your committee and just go from there?"

At this, the Chairman said: "Well, alright, then, I guess I'll just go ahead and do that."

Audience member: "We should just count off."

Chairman: "Alright, we can count off by ones and twos."

At this point, everybody, starting at the first table, counted alternatively by ones and twos until everybody had done so.

[Observer's comment: I should note that when it came my turn to count, I passed myself up and told the next person he should go ahead. A licensing worker from Jackson County who I had met previously in Claver, looked at me puzzled. I said, "I'm from Nashville. I really don't think I should offer to serve on this committee." She seemed put out that she hadn't thought of some excuse herself.]

At the end of the counting process, the Chairman said, "Alright, all you Number One's, you're on the new priority committee, and all you Number Two's, you're on the strategy development committee." There was now some mumbling among the audience members.

Somebody raised her hand: "What's Number Two, the what committee?"

The licensing worker said over in my general direction, "I think this is going to be a real disaster."

Supt. #1 said: "Now isn't this all somewhat contingent on what Dr. Bailey (HRPA Executive Director) has to say when he comes here?"

CDS: "Not really, because now we're talking about the state plan; this is for the <u>state</u> plan."

While we were waiting for Dr. Bailey to arrive, the Chairman announced an upcoming legislative hearing on children's services. "This is the first time I've heard about it. I'm a little puzzled why we haven't been notified. This is your hotdog chance to go down and tell your story to the legislature. I think that everybody here should go down there and tell them what you think your needs are. If you've got a project that's hurting for money or the ropes are strangling you, you should go on down and tell them your story."

He asked if anybody in the audience had heard anything about this hearing.

The Title I Director and Supt. #2 were the only ones to indicate that they had.

CDS then made an announcement about an upcoming conference in a nearby city. A couple of women that I was sitting near were asking where it was. The Title I Director looked across at them and asked them how much the tuition was. They replied about $12 and he said that he didn't think that his staff would go because he can't pay for their fee at the conference. He could only pay their mileage.

CDS then said to the group: "The HRPA Child Development Advisory Committee has taken all the suggestions from the survey that we just did and put them in order of priority. They scaled each project from a hundred down, so ours had just as good a chance as any of the other projects in the other areas like aging or transportation. Our committee was very generous in the judgments of the early development projects. I didn't bring a final copy of the report. I thought it would be kind of boring if I were to sit here and read it to you. If you have any questions about it, you can ask me later."

The Chairman now returned from the hall where he had been to see if Dr. Bailey was here yet. When he got up to the head table, he said, "Well, now the fun begins. It's ask what you want to ask folks." Then he introduced some people who were new to the CSC. It turned out that a recently elected county judge and a representative from the Highland Mental Health Center were here. [I noted with interest that a representative from the MHC was here. This is the first time I've seen such a representative. The thought occurs to me that he is here representing Charles Simms (HMHC Director) to hear what Dr. Bailey has to say.]

[When Dr. Bailey walked into the room, it was immediately clear to me that he was a different person than the others in the room in the sense that he was extremely well-dressed, had on what looked like a brown knit 3-piece suit with a handkerchief in his breast pocket. He had his hair well-trimmed in the modern politician's style--half over the ears--and carried himself very confidently. He spoke with such confidence that at times it became monotonous. The tone sounded as though he may have been bored to be here.]

After CDS introduced him, he said: "I'm really not going to give a speech. Most of you probably know what the Highland Regional Planning Agency does, that is, you do if you read the newspaper over the past 3-4 months. That's just lies that are in there. The Planning Agency was created in 1968. It began operations in 1969. It's governed by 62 board members, made up of 14 county judges, 31 mayors--well, actually 29 mayors and two representatives--and a variety of other representatives from all the agencies in the area. It has four primary functions. (1) Planning: Planning includes a whole variety of different areas, child development, aging, housing, land development, law enforcement, transportation, highway safety, and so on. (2) Technical assistance: Primarily what we do there is provide assistance to local governments in seeking federal loans and grants. That's really a very unheralded part of what we do. Very few people know about it, but if anybody ever has a question, we always try to answer it for them. (3) Coordination between local units of government, especially in terms of things like communication equipment, fire, police dispatch, vocational schools, sometimes things like waste disposal between a couple of counties. We also try to increase coordination between local/state and local/federal agencies. The final thing we do is A-95 review. A-95 review just refers to a memo that came out and that was the number of the memo. That's whereby we review all federal loan and grant applications that come out of the region, whether they're being written by private or public agencies. Very few escape our purview. We're also required to prepare an annual economic redevelopment plan for each of the counties because, you see, this entire region has been designated as an economic redevelopment area. We prefer going on this region-wide plan so that the entire region becomes eligible for this money. It used to be that only a few areas in the region were so designated, but since we've gone to the region-wide plan, we've been able to share the wealth around some."

[Observer's comment: At this point a stranger entered the room and sat down. I noticed CDS watched him quite closely and smiled to herself as he came in. I also noticed that Dr. Bailey watched the fellow as he came in and sat down. This fellow was also fairly well dressed.]

Back to Dr. Bailey: "The Appalachian Regional Commission requires an area-wide action plan under their new legislation which was just passed, that extends the Appalachian Regional Commission funds for another couple of years. The only other areas where we have advisory councils right now--like this CSC here--is in the areas of aging and law enforcement. In the other areas, like transportation, housing, the chairman of the Board appoints an advisory committee to look at all the proposals and set their priorities, using rating sheets with different criteria for each functional area. This past year we got 255 projects that we had to rate--well, actually, it was 256 projects; at the last minute we had a request for an ambulance service to come in from Pike County and we added that, gave it a Number One rating. That was 256 projects. The first thing we do is rate all the projects

against each other. We put them all into one great big list; early childhood development against aging, transportation against housing, and so on.

"Realistically, you see, they're not in competition with each other at this point. The only thing that they might be in competition about is the facilities that they'd be using, like a senior citizen program and a child care program, for instance. The funding is really pretty much in its own area; so that somebody going after a child development project wouldn't be going after any money that somebody in aging would. There are several that are in direct competition if they're going after the same Appalachian Regional Commission funds--for instance, if somebody was going after water line money and somebody was going after sewage treatment, there might be some competition between different counties in the region for that same money. Now we couldn't get all of this done without the help of our board of directors. What really happens in that board of directors is that there's a lot of give and take between the members. When this request came in from Pike County, we'd already decided--there'd only been one request for an ambulance service and that was from Carroll County and they already had a couple of ambulances and we didn't give it that much priority. But when this representative from Pike County came in, the Carroll County judge said right away that he'd be glad to vote for an ambulance in Pike County. They could wait until next year to improve their own ambulance service. It's this kind of give and take that we have on the board that is what helps us get the job done and nobody ever really gets mad in this situation either. Out of the 256 projects that we had to vote on this year, only one person got mad and left and that's a pretty good average. Your input into this total process is as advisors. You have more knowledge about early childhood projects than anybody else. Wherever such an advisory group exists, we ask that you provide some input to us.

"I know that this year everything was fast and furious and you did not have a chance to get into it from the beginning. Next year I promise you it will be different. Child development was a brand new category this year, one that we haven't had in the past and we're just trying to learn together about how to get this process going. I can assure you that you'll have more of an advanced notice next year. You should also know that any member of this group would be welcome to join the advisory committee on the board on early child development to provide some input that way. Anything that you'd like to ask; any questions that you might have, I'd be glad to answer."

CDS: "I know I probably shouldn't be asking the first question, but I think one of the important things to us is that we need to know about sources of money for child development from the federal government."

Dr. Bailey: "The primary source has been Appalachian Regional Commission funds for this area. Those are the funds that got the program going a few years ago. The original concept of those funds

was to demonstrate the value of child development programs and the plan then was to gradually withdraw support so that local and county governments would begin to pick them up. But now that's created some problems at the local level because they haven't had the money to pick those programs up. In addition to the problem of planned withdrawal, there's been a distinct and complete disenchantment with human service programs in the governor's office, with a corresponding over-emphasis on industrial development. It's smokestack construction that they're concerned with. They refuse to look at anything not directly connected with industrial parks. That's all economic development means to them. For the past four years, ARC money for early childhood services has gone real down and I think it will be in limbo until we get a new governor. There's really no point in asking the people that are running right now what they're thinking about the issues. They'll tell you what they think you want to hear and then they'll do whatever they damn well please once they get in office.

"I doubt that the transition document will really have any effect. What will make the difference is the attitudes of the staff who are in charge of the transition. Those attitudes will make a greater difference than anything else and I'll tell you one thing: the attitude of the new administration will be reflected in what they do with the Office of Child and Youth Services. But one thing that has been happening while the governor has lost interest in child development, the General Assembly has found out that it exists. They didn't even know that child development was around until the past couple of years. One thing that the legislators' already voted on is to replace some of those phased-out ARC funds with some of their own programs. I think this is a heartening sign. The key position in the governor's office is the Office of Urban and Federal Affairs. Whoever's director of that office will have a real powerful position; that's the way it was under the present one. Under the previous governor that position was more powerful than a lot of cabinet members' positions were. The Office of Child and Youth Services is still technically under this office, but the Office of Urban and Federal Affairs has been emasculated recently. The fellow that's in charge of it now is running around the hallway looking for something to do, and he can't find anything. Now what happens to those offices, who fills them, will have a lot to do with the future of child development. If a strong person is put in, then I think that will be a good sign. I'll tell you, we should know by next March what's going to be happening at that office. The first key to look for is who's appointed to the Office of Urban and Federal Affairs. It could be somebody that ran in the primary for governor; that's the way they've done it in the past."

At this point, Supt. #1 and Supt. #2 were talking quietly with each other.

Dr. Bailey: "Any more questions?"

Supt. #1 nodded to Supt. #2. Supt. #2 stood up and spoke formally. "I'm with the Hickory County School System. I serve as the superintendent up there and I just have one question

right now. I've been coming to these meetings for the past 4 years and right now I'm at a crossroads as whether or not to continue my participation on this Council. What I want to know, is this Council going to change at all? Will we really have decision-making authority? Not just before the money comes in, but after it's here too, how it actually gets spent out in the field. We've been spinning our wheels by coming here every month."

Dr. Bailey: "Now that's an excellent question. And I'm glad you asked it. I think the first thing you should realize is that the final authority for any decision-making has to be the Executive Committee on the Planning Agency. The input of this group into them can be as strong as you want to make it. They will listen to you because you are more knowledgeable about the issues here. No, I don't think you're spinning your wheels or burning greenwood for kindling. You are the lone hope for child development in this area. See, one of the things that's been happening now by developing a regional organization is that some of the power is going back to the local groups. ARC was supposed to be a federal, state and local partnership, but somehow the local got cut off; they got lost in the shuffle. Now I believe in our Congressman's philosophy. He says that all the federal money should be spent according to the priorities that are set by the local elected officials. I think he's right; I go along with that 100%. When we draw up our regional plans, we try to make them as appealing as possible so they can get funded. We always tell our staff to put a lot of pictures and maps in those regional plans. Those fellows up there all have master's degrees, but they can look at maps a lot better than they can read. There's hope, that's all I can offer you, but really the final decision is beyond our hands even."

CDS: "Is it a matter then, of becoming visible and vocal in the area?"

Dr. Bailey nodded.

Supt. #1, standing up: "I, too, have been coming to these meetings for 4 years. If we don't see some kind of change pretty soon, we'll have to label this just another colossal bureaucracy." He then described a private early childhood program that began in his county for which he was asked to sit in on a meeting to set cook salaries. This is one he'd referred to in a previous CSC meeting. "Now that program's come to pass. If these things are going to take place without an advisory committee, that's just not what the law says. The law says we should be involved in it. This committee should be given the opportunity to be informed of what is officially transpiring and the authority to make recommendations to the board about what should be happening. In 4 years, I can't think of anything we've given any advice on."

CDS now defended the HRPA. She said that the problem primarily was in the Office of Child and Youth Services being too slow to respond to the Children's Services Council. She said that she's now having more success in working with the Planning Agency than with the state.

Dr. Bailey: "I don't know what particular problem you're talking about up there but if it went through the A-95 process, and you didn't hear about it or get a chance for input, it seems to be the Child Development Specialist at the time was probably remiss in not contacting anyone. It's going to get better, I promise you."

Supt. #1: "We furnish buildings for Head Start. We see them back there but it seems like there should be some sharing of information going on here, in a regional council like this."

At this point, the late-arriving stranger interjected: "I concur 100% with the gentleman over here (referring to Bailey). I think the school officials, especially, are in a very good position to work with child development. You should let the committee know what is wanted and what is needed in your county. We just got to have your input and we want it. I want your support. I want to know what you want. It's a good committee, with the exception of myself. I appreciate your input and I want to know what you think about it. It's been like Dr. Bailey said. We've been kind of in limbo because of poor leadership at the state level."

CDS now introduced Judge Greene of Pike County, the speaker here, who is the chairman of the Child Development Advisory Committee on the Board of Directors at the Planning Agency. [At one point in the previous discussion, one of the audience members sitting near me whispered to the person sitting next to her, "What is an A-95?"]

CDS: "See, I told you, it could be like that. All we have to do is make sure our input goes into Judge Greene and his committee. Now isn't that nice?" [She said this smiling, very cheery.]

Supt. #1: "We don't have to be in the saddle; we just want a place on the horse's back."

Dr. Bailey: "Any other questions, comments or snide remarks?" [Laughing.]

Supt. #1: "Well, clearly, we're operating on faith here that we're going to have some input. I believe we're on the right track and I appreciate your remarks."

This was the end of the business meeting.

Families

Clearly the most basic social unit around which individuals in the Highland Region organize their lives is the family. The family is the primary source of identity, and ascribed characteristics of family name

and community membership are more valued than achieved characteristics such as job title, income, or elected office. Individuals are referred to as "a Pritchett" or "a Garrett" or "a Qualls." Sometimes married adult women will be referred to by their maiden name only, or by the maiden name followed by their married name--practices parallel to the "modern" development among women who choose for ideological reasons to preserve their own name after marriage.

There are several ways in which the primacy of familial ties may be observed. First, a common form of affectionate address to someone might be "granny" for an older woman, "uncle" for a male elder, and "buddy" or "brother" for a male age-peer. Second, when an outsider is introduced to an individual or group for the first time, much will be said about the outsider's name and place of birth. In our work, many people responded to our names by saying something like, "Oh, yes! Mallory. I believe there's some of them out where my wife's folks come from. You reckon you're related to any of them?" Or, "I had a second cousin named Glascoe. They live around here somewhere--I believe it's over to the lake where they live." (Once, a public health administrator, when seeing us together for the first time, exclaimed, "Why you must be kin, you favor each other so much!") Third, familial bonds extend to neighbors, even if they are not direct kin. So a lifelong resident of the Laural Ridge area, Alma Pritchett, could say, "It's just family. I mean this whole mountain's just like one big family. I mean your aunt and uncle live here, your grandpa and grandma. Everybody that's on this mountain is some way related." She referred to her across-the-street neighbors, Kermit and Cecil, as being "just like the family" and this closeness was observed one day when Alma and I were sitting in her front

yard talking and Kermit and Cecil, who were sitting across from us on their front porch, would spontaneously add comments relating to our conversation.

One way to illustrate the importance of family ties and the feeling of security coming from familial and familiar surroundings is to listen to what Alma said about the few months out of her 26 years when she did not live on the Ridge.

Mallory: Have you lived here all your life?

> Alma: Except 9 months. I spent 9 months in Claver and came back. Where we lived at you couldn't get out your front door without everybody staring at you and nobody would speak. I mean they didn't talk. And Bobby [her husband] didn't like living there. But I've got a friend that lives in Claver. Her husband runs an Esso station and she lived up here on the Ridge for years and years. I don't know how many years she's lived where she's at but she said that her neighbors didn't hardly speak to her. And she never spoke to them. As many years as she's been living there. She didn't even know one of her neighbors. And everybody up here knows everybody or they're kin. If you need to go see somebody, talk to them about something, you can go on. I just can't stand to be off somewhere where you don't know anybody, nobody to talk to.

Claver is about 20 miles from Laural Ridge.

One source of sustained family ties is the traditional physical proximity of extended family members. Although the historical practice of an entire extended family living under the same roof is fast disappearing due to social mobility, shrinking family size, and the need to build smaller houses due to exorbitant building costs, there is still much evidence in outlying settlements that family proximity is important. A common living arrangement involves having the children, male or female, build a house or bring a trailer onto a lot adjoining the parents' home, so two and three generations remain on the original family land. The children's homes are smaller, with central heating and plumbing that might not have been present in the parents' home. The extended family

continues to work a common vegetable garden or tobacco base, shares the same barn, and provides mutual help in child care, cooking, preserving food, car repair, tending the sick, and shopping.

As one moves closer to population centers this pattern fades. In communities such as Claver or "Sabina" extended family members may be within a short drive, but are not likely to live next door. Mutual help is less spontaneous and frequent because of the physical distance involved. In Jackson City, the pattern of mutual aid is almost gone. The professional, technical occupations found in Jackson City are more likely to involve a high degree of transience for nuclear families. Stresses that come with the lack of mutual help provided by extended families were described by the only pediatrician in the Highland Region:

> Mallory: "You know there are a lot of people now concerned about the ability of parents to raise children in these times. Many people feel that parents are not automatically competent to raise kids and they don't really understand their child's development. Have you seen that as a problem in your practice?"
>
> Dr. Cooke: "Yes, it's a major problem. We have a transient society. People are constantly moving in and out of Jackson City and what it means is that natural educator, the one that used to tell mothers how to raise their children, just isn't there anymore. I mean the grandmother. I know this sounds kind of strange coming from me, but I can remember when I was growing up, my grandmother lived down the street. Whenever my mother had a question or problem, she'd just come down there and help her out. This is no longer true. People don't live with extended family anymore. One of the major things I'm concerned about is many of the middle-class women I see are very insecure. They're very afraid to get involved in church, the Junior League, or any activity like that. They might play a little tennis but that's about it. They're with their husbands who are here with one of the companies and the husbands are expected to be transferred away from here within a year or two, to climb up the ladder in their businesses. The women don't seem to want to get involved in anything here because they know they'll be on their way out pretty soon. This means they don't have anybody to help them out as parents.

The traditional child rearing functions of families are also undergoing changes as economic pressures and the absence of familial self-help

networks bring more women into the job market, creating a need for some form of substitute care for young children. Discussions of mothers' roles in child rearing and the pressures of employment indicate conflicting but strongly-held values. On one hand, many of the people we talked with recognized the need for mothers to work, especially when fathers are laid off as coal mines close or factories are in recession. Below are excerpts from conversations that indicate the complexity of these changes and the values expressed in response to them. All of the speakers are married women employed by the Hickory County Early Intervention Project (EIP).

Betty Garrett: The mothers working--that's the biggest change I've seen since I grew up.

Mallory: What kind of places do they work?

Betty: Shirt factories, factories basically, clothing factories.

Mallory: Daytime shifts usually?

Betty: Mostly daytime. 7:00 or 7:30 to around 4:00 or 4:30 is mostly the working hours.

Alma Pritchett: Mothers having to go to work, that's bad. I don't think any mother ought to have to work until after her child starts kindergarten at least. Some mothers probably wouldn't do anything if they did stay home. Some of them don't know what to do with their children, but I think it's better for them to sit there and not do anything than to go to work all day. When we go in a home and we start teaching them, they don't know that they could be teaching their own children this stuff. I had a mother say one day that she didn't know that her child could learn this one word. She didn't realize it.

Mallory: What should be done in families where the mother has to work because she's either the only one there or the father's making $5-6-7,000 a year and that's the only income? That's happening to a lot of families now. If you were the president and you got a chance to pass a law that could take care of that problem, what would it be like? Or would you not even pass the law?

Alma: One thing I can say, I'm amazed just to think that a family could live on an income that a man could bring in. Like some of our families here in this place, are making $2.65 an hour.

Some not making that much. How can you live on that? When you take a person up North or something, he's making $7 or $8 an hour and maybe doing the same job. But yet their taxes is the same taxes that we're paying. It's just not fair.

Mallory: So if you were going to do something, you'd make sure that the fathers were getting a big enough income?

Alma: I would make sure that fathers were capable of making enough money to support their families.

Betty: That's what the change is isn't it? That's the real problem right there isn't it? That everybody don't have enough money. Because, I mean, when I was a child, my mother didn't work and none of my friends' mothers worked.

Alma Pritchett told of parents that she worked with for a short time as a Head Start home visitor. In Hickory County and neighboring areas, Head Start is referred to popularly as "day care."

Alma: Now I had some that would go to day care but that was parents that wanted to get rid of them. I hate to say it but it's true. They say, yeah, we want to get rid of them every day, but we don't want to get rid of them twice a week [the EIP option] why'd we want that? Well, they wouldn't come [to the EIP] would they?

Betty: I hate to say it, but lots of parents send their kids to day care so they can get out and run around. To me, day care is fine for a working mother, but it's not for a mother that stays home every day.

Alma: But it's not that way. I always thought it was for a working mother, but it's not and there's a lot of parents that stay home all day, send their kids to day care, and then get out and go places and stuff, use it for a babysitter purpose. And I feel sorry for them.

Betty: Usually, the higher income, you'll usually find that both parents are working and when you find that you've got a child what I call is neglected. Because I know when I go home at night I don't do all the things I should do with Andy because I am just wore out.

During a bus ride to drop the EIP children off one afternoon, the bus driver and a home visitor discussed this same issue. The following is taken from field notes written after the bus ride.

Sarah and Nancy began a conversation about their own children and their work habits when they raised their children. They both spoke very negatively about mothers with young children working.

They felt that at all costs, the mother should be at home with their children. Nancy said very directly me me, "There really isn't all that much that we're doing. We just have to teach these mothers how to work with their children. If we could just do that there really wouldn't be that much else that needed to be done; but the mothers just don't take the time and they won't take the time to do what we ask them to do with their children, or to do what it is that we do for the children." She said that the main source of that problem is the number of mothers that work. She said that she did not work when her children were young. They did not have very much money but she felt it was much more important for the mother not to work at least until the child is in kindergarten. Sarah agreed with this and said she also did not work at that point and that she would not have worked; her husband wouldn't let her work. Nancy agreed with this, saying that her husband had also insisted that she not work while she was raising her young children.

In the view of these women and their peers, having the additional income created by mothers working does not necessarily improve a family's child rearing abilities. In addition, the extra income means they are no longer eligible for public assistance programs. Alma told me, "All those programs punish the working family--day care, Head Start--the income guidelines are just too low. Only the welfare families can use them."

Betty: Look at Jason and Beth. Their income's $12,000 a year. Beth's the one that couldn't stand still, and she was trying to sweep the mirror, and her family's income is $12-13-14,000 a year. Income doesn't matter. Income to me doesn't have anything to do with it.

Alma: There's no iota of difference, as far as that goes. Sometimes I think the lower income mothers work harder than the higher income mothers.

Mallory: With their children?

Alma: With us too. At home and in the classroom too. I remember Miss Harry, she's one of the lowerst income people we've ever had; and everytime anything was goiny on, no matter what it was, she was right there. She's one of the best mothers.

In a related vein, a public health nurse also found incomes and child rearing to be inversely related. At the end of a long conversation

on the health needs of low income families, she concluded, "It must be that the good Lord watches over the poor. They somehow do better than the others."

The issue of family income, program eligibility, and children's developmental status will be discussed at greater length in Chapter V.

Voluntary Organizations

Outside kin and neighbors, the closest sources of support for both stable families and families under some stress are found in voluntary, non-governmental local organizations such as churches and civic associations. Churches provide both spiritual and social support to families.

Spiritual support centers on formal worship activities on Sundays and 1 or 2 other days each week. Going to church is an important activity to most families observed. In more rural areas, the role of the church as a central social institution increases. One resident described the Highland Region as "the Bible Belt" in referring to the importance people place on church attendance and on conducting their lives in a conservative manner by observing taboos against drinking alcohol and swearing in public. A highly valued characteristic is to be "moderate," that is, to not drink, smoke, or swear. People who observe these norms are referred to as "Christian folks," a very complementary label for most people we talked with. Some allowance is made for young unmarried men who waver from the straight and narrow, but the institution of marriage is expected to induce a more temperate character, at least in public settings where women may be present.

The close relationship between spiritual support and social support is seen in the importance of church attendance. Many people we observed in Hickory County went to church twice a week, usually Sundays and Wednesdays. In discussing young children's first social encounters

outside of the home, Alma Pritchett said, "The kids do get to go to church, because for one thing, they can't afford to take them anywhere else. Church is the only place they get to go." Alma also emphasized the difference between the more rural churches along Laural Ridge and those found in the county seat:

> For one thing, if you go to our church, you don't have to dress like a million dollars. Some churches, if you're not dressed to a T, you don't walk in the front door. But if you do, everybody turns around and looks at you. But now that's the churches' fault, when churches do that. But our church, you dress in whatever you've got to wear. If you don't have a new outfit when Easter Sunday comes, you just go on. It's not that important.

Another form of spiritual and social support for families is found in the "watchdog" role that churches play in protecting existing moral values. In Hickory County, during the first half of 1978, the county ministerial association sponsored a petition that circulated through several churches. The petition was aimed at "the vote down in Texas" (one person's way of describing the 1978 convention of the National Organization of Women in Houston), and opposed the Equal Rights Amendment ("men using women's toilets, you know"), equal rights for homosexuals, and federally-funded preschool and day care programs. Each of these was perceived as threatening to traditional sex roles, family autonomy, and the church-family partnership in the socialization and moral development of children.

In Winchester County, during the fall of 1978, there was a very active anti-liquor campaign sponsored by several Churches of Christ aimed at a public referendum to allow package stores in the county. Radio ads were purchased and churches posted signs on their bulletin boards saying, "Alcohol is a killer," and "Alcohol is the number one drug problem in the county."

The link between spiritual concerns and social change was also found in discussing the role of the early intervention program in Hickory County with its director:

> You see, I think the country is sick. The government is sick. I support early childhood education not for personal gain or for prestige. If the program stopped, my salary would not be cut. It's strictly a religious and moral issue with me. We need to get to the young children and the parents of young children before it's too late. We're losing democracy in this country and we need to work with our children and we need to work with young parents, even before they have the baby, while the mother is still pregnant, to tell them how to take care of their bodies and to take care of their little children in order to create a moral and strong country that's committed to democratic ideals.

Another source of voluntary support comes from civic groups such as the Knights of Columbus, Masons, Lions, and VFW. Such groups are most active and visible in the major population center--Jackson City--but they also exist in the smaller county seats such as Claver and Sabina. In these groups social concerns are more evident than spiritual concerns, but there is occasionally reference to the satisfaction gained from doing "Christian deeds."

The Knights of Columbus in Jackson City is a civic service organization with direct ties to the Catholic Church. Through their annual candy sales, they provide financial support to the Highland Parent Training Project and to a public school program for severely multiply handicapped children. Since 1975, almost $3,000 has been donated to the Parent Training Project and about $1,000 has gone to the public school program through their "Orthopedic Improvement Fund." Most of the money raised by the Knights of Columbus actually comes from individually solicited corporate donations. About 40% of the money comes from the candy sales that occur on one weekend each year. An officer in the Jackson City Knights of Columbus described the role of private charitable support by saying:

> The most important thing is the local initiative. It's really imperative. Federal funds will always be necessary for programs like the Parent Training Project. They won't survive without it. But the people in the community have to feel that they own a program like this. I also think it's important to go beyond just giving money to a program. We want to get the members involved in weekend projects--building playground equipment, that kind of thing.

Another example of the role of voluntary organizations if found in Sabina, where the Pike County Mental Health Association is located. This group has been the primary impetus behind fundraising drives, program development, and capital improvement projects in areas related to services for mentally handicapped and disturbed children and adults. The Association was begun in the late 1960s by a well-to-do woman with a psychotic sister. Unlike the Knights of Columbus, the Association generally provides direct care or crisis intervention services rather than financial contributions. Most of the work is done by local volunteers, and the prime mover continues to be the original founder, who is a well respected and widely known member of the Sabina community. Through her extensive personal contacts, she has been able to influence all of the mental health services coming into Sabina through the Highland Mental Health Center in Jackson City. The Association has supported the development of the Sabina extension of the Parent Training Project beginning in January 1978. In addition, the Association is now conducting a drive to raise $200,000 to match with federal dollars for the construction of a mental health center in Sabina that will provide day treatment, residential care, and counseling services for the citizens of Pike County.

In Hickory County, there are no voluntary organizations actively involved in supporting young handicapped children and their families. However, a county court member whose child was enrolled in the Early Intervention Project and who served on the court's education committee

is also a member of the Masons. He is using these connections to support the EIP by offering to the project the use of the Masonic Lodge on Laural Ridge. Without these direct personal ties, it is doubtful that the Masons would have become involved in the EIP. There has been no pursuit by EIP staff of voluntary support for the program, and no civic groups have come forward to offer their support. Perhaps this is because the EIP is a public school-based activity and thus seen as not in need of such support. It may also be due to the conscious efforts of the staff not to publicize the project.

In general, larger towns and cities are more likely to have active voluntary civic groups that support early intervention activities than smaller towns and villages. Personal ties with corporate sources of donations, local decision makers, and families with handicapped children play a central role in generating volunteer support.

In sum, the cultural institutions and prevailing values of the region must be discussed within the context of on-going social and economic change. It is the personal and community responses to these changes that offer a window for insight into the culture of the Highland Region. A public school administrator described the changes in job status, sex roles, and family structure as "revolutionary." This sense of rapid change threatens the stable, secure, and familiar social patterns that the region's citizens have known in the past.

> Why if you leave a wheelbarrow down by the road, it's likely not to be there the next time you turn around. It used to be that you could leave a wheelbarrow out and if it was missing you knew that your neighbor had borrowed it and he'd bring it back in a few hours. But now that just isn't true. These young boys come up from Jackson City and prowl around in broad daylight, taking anything that's not bolted down.

The encroachment of urban problems and values is viewed as a danger, and frequent reference is made to the crime rates and congestion

of urban areas to illustrate the benefits of maintaining a slower, less aggressive, non-competitive, traditional lifestyle in the Highland Region. Compromise and sharing are valued over competition and social prestige. Higher personal income or educational achievement are not primary sources of social status:

> For a long time people have thought that if you were poor you were dumb, but I don't believe that. I believe in being dumb and rich. I mean I do. I think you can be very educationally deprived and be from very well-to-do families. And need to go to school just as bad as anyone else.

The increased pressure on mothers to seek employment is seen as a problem if there are young children at home. Children from single-parent families or from two-parent working families are viewed as neglected or at-risk for developmental problems. In the view of those interviewed, the response to these trends should be from local resources rather than from external intruders who don't understand the region's culture. Support to families with young children is the responsibility of extended kin, neighbors, and community organizations. When existing services are threatened by funding cuts or changes in regulations, there is often quiet acquiesence. In response to the closing of the EIP on Laural Ridge, one mother asked, "What will we do? I guess just like we've always done--get along just barely and the best we can."

Acquiesence does not imply apathy. Anger and frustration are expressed quickly when external forces intrude in the accepted flow of events or when community members feel their needs are ignored by politicians. But the expressed anger often does not lead to concrete action. This is due in part to the widely accepted values of unanimity and the avoidance of public conflict that are manifested in county court and school board meetings. In addition, people affected by

social problems caused by external intrusion or neglect do not know at whom their anger should be directed or what form protests should take if their grievances are to be redressed. Chapter V will provide a more detailed examination of the way in which Highlanders respond to externally-mandated changes in early intervention programs.

CHAPTER III

DESCRIPTION OF THE FIELD SITES

Of the dozen counties that comprise the Highland Regional Planning Area, two counties were chosen that had federally-funded early intervention programs in place. Later, when one of the programs developed an extension site, the field sites were expanded to include a third county. These three counties--Hickory, Winchester, and Pike--represent three different stages of rural-urban transition, thus providing a stratified sample of contexts for early intervention programs. It should be noted that the programs and counties were not chosen randomly or for their representativeness of intervention programs and rural counties. Although these programs and counties do have characteristics that make them similar to other programs and settings, there are also features unique to these sites that will limit the development of broad generalizations applicable to all early intervention programs in rural communities.

Hickory County

As the most rural of the three sites, Hickory County represents a traditional, agrarian, and relatively closed culture. Yet, it clearly manifests the effects of change as extractive activity rapidly declines and workers are forced to shift to manufacturing and service occupations. These economic pressures result in the highest rate of out-of-county employment among the three counties. Twenty-one percent of

Hickory County's workers commute to work to a neighboring county. Most go to the county adjoining its southern border.

The physical barriers that separate the western and eastern sides of the county accentuate the social differences between the two sides. The physical and social separation is characterized by local residents who speak of "over the mountain" (the eastern half) and "under the mountain" (the western half). The "mountain" is actually Laural Ridge, which stretches for 15 miles in a north-south direction. About 10 small communities are spread along the top of the Ridge, and others are located on spurs that come off the Ridge and run to the east. Here the population is quite sparse, roads were only paved within the past 10 years, the regional elementary school was built just a decade ago, and there are high rates of male unemployment and disability due to long careers in the now-closed mines. This area was hit hard by the decline of the coal industry, and has not recovered since the large-scale out-migrations of the fifties and sixties. Those who do work regularly must travel to Claver (5 to 10 miles as the crow flies, 40 to 50 minutes by automobile), or Norristown or Jackson City in Winchester County (20 minutes and 45 minutes to the south, respectively).

On the western side, travel is easier, families are generally more prosperous, towns are growing at a faster rate, and the signs of urbanization are visible in Claver. An industrial park (soon to be almost doubled in size), a one-half million dollar courthouse renovation project, new movie theaters, fast food chains, highway improvements, new public recreation areas, and new home construction indicate relative prosperity. The main north-south highway that connects Claver with Jackson City is slated to be expanded to accommodate the increasing commercial and commuter traffic between the two counties.

People from both under and over the mountain soon point out their own strengths and the shortcomings of their counterparts. The Laural Ridge residents see themselves as more religious, more family-oriented, and more friendly and open than Claver residents:

> If you live up here and you're poor, you're at least religious.
>
> It's just like day and night. We're part of the county but we're not either. It's like you're part of another world, really, isn't it?
>
> When I took some courses down at Jackson City, those people used to talk about this place like it was backwards and the people up here are all dumb. The same thing happened when I went to high school over in Claver. It really hurts.

Under the mountain, the people of Claver express their own hostility toward the Laural Ridge area. Ridge residents are referred to as being "different from the people over in this part of the county." A former county official who represented the Ridge but lived under the mountain due to district apportionment called the Ridge people:

> f------ no-gooders. They're a bunch of dummies up there. Those people are something else over there. They're kind of different. They are tough, you know. The kids are different from what we have at Claver Elementary. There's something about their peer group. There are people up there that like to bitch a lot. There are a lot of good people up there too, but it just seems like those people have a lot to complain about.

These rivalries are reflected in political decision making that results in greater allocation of attention and resources to the Claver area. A primary source of tension that we observed revolved around schools and methods of financing them. The Ridge people point out that they pay as much taxes as anyone, including the wheel tax of $12.50 imposed several years ago to finance a new high school for Claver, a high school which no Ridge students attend. They also feel that the Ridge Elementary School (a consolidated school built 10 years ago) is the dumping ground for the less competent tenured teachers in the county.

A former school board member said that board members will move the "deadwood" out of the schools they represent and transfer them to the Ridge school. A school staff member told us that one of the Ridge school teachers, when initially applying for a job with the school board, was told there was only one opening in the county, but because it was Ridge school she "probably wouldn't want to teach there."

The Early Intervention Program

In the fall of 1974, new priorities in the state education agency (SEA) and the availability of carry-over funds for Title I programs provided the opportunity for early intervention program development. These circumstances were capitalized on by the education commissioner for the state who had previously been employed in an innovative Appalachian educational research and demonstration project and who was known partly for his interest in early childhood development. When the carry-over Title I funds were found at the end of FY 1974, the commissioner declared the money available for the development of services for preschool children who were "educationally disadvantaged." The initial intent of the SEA was to create a number of demonstration models, all based on experimental designs and all following a combined home visiting and center-based format similar to that used by a model Head Start program already operating in the state. Curriculum was to be based on the television show "Captain Kangaroo," with written materials provided which parents could use to reinforce what was presented on television.

Thirteen pilot Title I early intervention projects were established as a result of these new initiatives. One of the projects was located in Hickory County. Like the other pilot programs, the Hickory County

program was intended to be experimental. At each site, experimental and control children were selected randomly from a pool of candidates eligible for Title I services. The experimental children were given the Learning Accomplishment Profile, or LAP (Sanford, Note 4) as a pretest in September. They were then provided weekly home visits by paraprofessionals, each lasting about one hour, in which the mother was to be taught to teach her own children basic cognitive skills using the "Captain Kangaroo" show and accompanying printed materials. Every third day, the child was bussed into a center where a trained teacher would provide further cognitive stimulation and socialization experiences. At the end of the school year, each child was given the LAP as a post-test. A comparison of gains in the LAP (which provides a developmental age score) with change in the child's chronological age indicated the effect the program had on a child's cognitive abilities.

The six control children chosen at each site were to be given the pre- and post-tests, with no intervening treatment. Overall program effectiveness would thus be expressed as the difference in aggregate scores between experimental and control children. However, politics became a confounding variable in this model. In 1975, a new SEA commissioner was appointed by the recently-elected governor. The new commissioner had little interest in early childhood services, and neglected the Title I experiment. The new staff brought on to oversee the project left the SEA for a variety of reasons. No post tests were ever given to the control children, and the current SEA Title I administrative staff, headed by a woman who was once the director of one of the original pilot programs, has little interest in the seven surviving sites.

From September 1974 to June 1979, the Early Intervention Program served 257 children 3 to 4 years old identified as educationally

disadvantaged. Very few of the children served had specific, identifiable handicaps. The purpose of the project, as stated in every proposal since 1974, has been:

> To improve the home environment [and] the physical, social, and educational development of three and four year old children through a combination of home visits and school-related classroom experiences.

A composite picture of the families and children served by the EIP from 1974 to 1978 is presented in Table 4.

Prior to the present study, there had been no systematic evaluation of the program. The only indicator of efficacy has been pre- and post-administration of the LAP to: (a) verify sub-normal cognitive functioning and establish eligibility for the program, and (b) assess degree of gains in a variety of developmental areas after 9 months of intervention. Although annual data for individual child gains do indicate growth beyond that to be expected in a 9-month period, lack of experimental design prohibits ruling out a number of threats to validity concerning the specific effects of the EIP.

Eligibility criteria for the program are based on the child's LAP results and are set at 6 months below the normal cognitive abilities of age peers. In 1976, when the program used Title XX funds, income guidelines were used to establish eligibility. A majority of the children served to date come from families whose income falls near or below the poverty line. However, the last 2 program years, 1978 and 1979, have been characterized by a conscious effort to serve children from middle-income families.

From 1974 to 1978, the EIP was located at 2 sites in Hickory County. The main site, serving up to 60 children per year, is located in a "portable" sheet metal classroom unit behind the County School

TABLE 4

COMPOSITE DESCRIPTION OF FAMILIES AND CHILDREN
ENROLLED IN EIP, YEARS I-IV

1. Special Problem of Child

1	vision	0	mental retardation
3	physical disability	203	not indicated
1	emotionally disturbed	6	other
14	speech and hearing defects		

2. Sex of Child

107	male
118	female

3. Number of Siblings

66	1	4	4	61	not indicated
25	2	9	5	25	none
22	3	11	over 5		

4. Age of Mother at Enrollment

2	18 or below	26	27-28	10	36-40
5	19-20	22	29-30	12	41-45
28	21-22	12	31-32	4	over 45
25	23-24	14	33-35	39	not indicated
26	25-26				

5. Educational Level of Mother

1	no school	9	some college or post-high school
101	1-8 years	1	A.A.
56	9-12 years	4	B.A.
40	high school grad.	8	not indicated

6. Target Parent for Home Visits

201	mother	1	babysitter
3	father	0	other
11	grandmother	5	not indicated

7. Employment Status of Target Parent

58	employed		
140	unemployed	11	not indicated

8. Is One or More Parent Employed?

163	yes	126	regular	11	seasonal
38	no	13	part-time	21	not indicated

9. Total Family Income Previous Year

26	under $2,000	20	$6,001 - 8,000		
68	$2,001 - 4,000	12	$8,001 - 10,000		
70	$4,001 - 6,000	10	$10,001 - 12,000	13	not indicated

10. Total Number of Members in Household

2	2	30	5		
41	3	32	6		
64	4	25	over 6	20	not indicated

Board building is a converted elementary school that now houses the superintendent's office, several administrators' offices, and six kindergarten classrooms that serve families living under the mountain.

The other EIP site was at the Ridge School and served about 18 families per year. This site occupied a large storage closet located in the center of the building near the principal's office. The windowless room measured about 10-feet by 18-feet, and was very full when 16 children, the lead teacher, the home visitor, and perhaps a parent were all present at the same time.

The location of the classroom in the center of the building and the absence of easy access to the outside placed the Ridge School EIP in violation of the state fire safety code. Although the Ridge program operated for 3 years in this location, it was not until December 1977, that the regional fire inspector visited the classroom and declared it in violation of 12 code requirements. By June of 1978, the School Board decided they could not afford to purchase a portable classroom unit or find another site and ordered the Ridge EIP closed down. The response to this closing provides much insight into the value placed on such a program, and will be discussed in detail in Chapter V.

Since 1974, the program has operated primarily with ESEA Title I funds, Appalachian Regional Commission funds, and a local share contributed by the School Board. The major exception to these funding sources occurred in the 1976-1977 school year. In July 1976, the SEA commissioner issued the following statement:

> Programs for Three and Four Year-Olds Funded Under Title I. This year, systems having these programs and requesting that they continue to be funded under Title I for the 1976-77 school term must assure the State, in their application, that there are no other more pressing needs for students in grades K-12 (ages 5-17 inclusive) within eligible attendance areas. Also, such a request must

> be justified on the basis of a needs assessment as outlined in current regulations. A request for the continuation of such a program for the 1976-77 school year should also include a plan whereby the program, so far as the Title I funding is concerned, will be phased out by the end of this year. Programs for three and four year-olds will not be funded under Title I after the 1976-77 school term.

Taking the Commissioner at his word, Eugene Judd, the Title I director for Hickory County, immediately made plans to submit a proposal to the State Department of Human Resources for Title XX funds to continue the EIP. After a year of using Title XX funds, and after the Commissioner issued subsequent memos softening the tone of the one quoted above, the EIP reverted back to the use of Title I and ARC funds. The ARC funds are scheduled to be phased out by 1981, thus the local share is gradually increasing while the Title I funds remain the primary source of support.

Winchester County

Although Winchester County is Hickory County's immediate neighbor, the two areas represent quite different stages of modernization. There are about 40,000 people in the county, and 15,000 of these live in Jackson City. In the past two decades, the city has become a boom town due to the interstate that runs along its southern border. Its growth rate from 1960 to 1970 was 83%, and has been continuing at close to that rate since 1970. Like other counties in the Highland Region, considerable population was lost to out-migration during the fifties (15.5%), but since 1960, in-migration has been greater than out-migration. Population density is 2½ times that of Hickory County, with most of the difference accounted for by Jackson City and its "suburbs." Average family size is one of the smallest in the region (2.97), and the percentage of sub-standard houses is the lowest for the region (18.7%). Only 7% of the adults go outside of Winchester County for employment.

There are three essential characteristics of Jackson City that set it apart from the other communities in the region. First, Jackson City is the regional headquarters for all state agencies and for the Highland Regional Planning Agency. This provides the county with a high concentration of social services and professionally-trained government workers. Although the services are generally intended for regional consumption, they tend to go first to the residents of Winchester County. Second, Jackson City contains a state university which has some 6,500 students in agriculture, home economics, education, business, engineering, and arts and sciences. The university provides many technical assistance and support services to industry and social service agencies in the Region. It houses the Highland Parent Training Project and a Speech and Hearing Clinic, both of which are available to families with handicapped or delayed children living anywhere in the Highland Region. Third, the presence of the interstate highway has brought a substantial industrial base to the area. Shipping concerns, chemical manufacturers, clothing manufacturers, electronic components assembly outfits, and "the world's largest" confectionary are all located here.

Because of its proximity to other urban areas, Jackson City is able to draw on specialists and professionals not available to the more remote areas of the Highland Region. The City's hospitals now have specialists in all medical fields on their staffs. From 1974 to 1979, the Region's only pediatrician was based in Jackson City. The presence of non-native professionals is also felt at the university where both the Parent Training Project and the Speech and Hearing Clinic are directed by emigrants, and many of the university faculty are from

outside the region. At the Highland Mental Health Center, the director and most of the clinical staff are imported, while the support staff and paraprofessionals are more likely to be indigenous.

An interesting parallel between Winchester and Hickory Counties is found in a geographic and social split between their eastern and western halves. In Winchester County, the urban industrial center of Jackson City is balanced by Norristown, about 10 miles east of the city and at the southern tip of Laural Ridge. Although Norristown is also located on the interstate, it is a town in decline. Once part of the prosperous coal industry, Norristown now has no physicians, no hospital, no significant sources of employment, and is viewed by Jackson City residents as a backwards hill town. A special education teacher said that families from the Norristown area do not choose to enroll their children in special classes because, "They're kind of backwards. I guess it's because they're from the hills. There's a lot of incest up there too, and they really need some help."

Parent Training Project

In early 1974, efforts were begun to develop a replication model for an urban-based early intervention program that had been in operation since 1969. The urban program was originally funded through the Handicapped Children's Early Education Program, part of the USOE Bureau of Education for the Handicapped. The grantee agency was a major urban teacher's college. Although the initial funding was based on a 3-year cycle, the project demonstrated success so quickly that third year funds were not sought because the state decided to put its own resources into the project. The state has used a combination of Appalachian Regional

Commission funds and its own mental health appropriations to continue both the urban demonstration site and the subsequent replication efforts.

The success of the urban model is indicated by a resolution that was passed in the state legislature to encourage the expansion and replication of such programs. Subsequently, state-level personnel from the Department of Mental Health developed an extensive replication plan that included the implementation of roughly one dozen new programs to be located in county seats and other regional population centers. By late 1974, the plan was completed. In January 1975, one of the first replication centers opened in Jackson City.

Like the Hickory County EIP, the Highland Parent Training Project was initially funded with monies left over from the previous year's budget. In this case, it was ARC rather than Title I funds that were used. The Project has continued to rely on ARC funds that come through the state, but as these have begun to be phased out (ARC funds may not be used for more than 5 years, and the grant allocation is reduced by 10% each year), increased support has been sought through the State Department of Mental Health and the Department of Human Resources. It is expected that Title XX monies will be a primary source of support in the near future. The Project's annual budget has been about $40,000 for the past 4 years.

Since its inception, the Parent Training Project has been located at the university. It has served 2 to 10 families each year, or about 25 different families by mid-1979. Table 5 provides a picture of the families and children enrolled in Years I-IV of the program. All services are provided free of charge with the understanding that the parents (usually the mother) will attend the program daily with the

TABLE 5

COMPOSITE DESCRIPTION OF FAMILIES AND CHILDREN
ENROLLED IN PARENT TRAINING PROJECT
YEARS I-IV

1. Child's Presenting Problem
   - 6 Developmentally delayed
   - 6 Behaviorally disordered
   - 15 Multiply handicapped
   - 1 Model child (sibling of target child)

2. Length of Enrollment for Target Child (as of Nov. 1978)
   - 5 Less than 1 month
   - 5 1-4 months
   - 7 5-8 months
   - 2 9-12 months
   - 0 13-18 months
   - 8 over 18 months
   - 10.1 ave. length of enrollment mos.

3. Sex of Target Child
   - 17 male
   - 10 female

4. Age of Child at Enrollment
   - 0 0-6 mos.
   - 4 7-12 mos.
   - 2 13-18 mos.
   - 3 19-24 mos.
   - 4 25-36 mos.
   - 7 37-48 mos.
   - 4 49-60 mos.
   - 4 over 5 years

5. Family Income*
   - 0 0-$2,00
   - 3 $2,001 - 4,000
   - 3 $4,001 - 6,000
   - 6 $6,001 - 8,000
   - 2 $8,001 - 10,000
   - 6 $10,001 - 14,000
   - 2 over $15,000

6. Age of Mother*
   - 1 15-20 years
   - 10 21-25 years
   - 1 26-30 years
   - 7 31-40 years
   - 3 over 40 years

7. Educational Status of Mother*
   - 4 less than 12 years
   - 16 high school graduate
   - 2 college graduate

8. Source of Referral to Project
   - 3 physician
   - 3 mental health center
   - 5 diagnostic clinic
   - 0 public welfare agency
   - 13 other (including self-referral)

9. Distance Between Home and Center
   - 10 0-10 miles
   - 6 11-30 miles
   - 0 31-50 miles
   - 8 over 50 miles

*Data missing for two families.

child and will volunteer his/her services to the program 3 or 4 days a week for several months after the child leaves to enter the first grade or some other educational setting.

Eligibility for the program is not spelled out specifically. Referrals by physicians, mental health workers, social workers, day care teachers, and others are accepted by the program. (A description of the children's primary developmental problems is presented in Table 6). An assessment of the child's needs, the willingness of the parents to commit time and energy to the treatment process, and the capacity of the program to meet the child's and parents' needs are made. If the child is accepted, the program requires that one parent attend the center at least 3 times a week to implement the specific treatment plan developed jointly by staff and parents. The parents serve as volunteer teachers, with the support of paraprofessional staff members, a center principal, and various consulting therapists and developmental specialists. In contrast to the traditional curriculum used by the Title I EIP, the Project follows a highly structured operant conditioning model to produce behavioral changes in "target" children. The parents are given extensive training in applied behavior analysis so they may carry out the treatment plan both at the center and at home. Although the original urban model was aimed primarily at "oppositional children" who presented serious behavior management problems, the Project has served children with intellectual and physical handicaps as well as those with emotional problems. There are no specific income eligibility guidelines for the Project, but a majority of the families would fall within Title XX income guidelines.

Once a child has accomplished the objectives set by the parents and program staff, he or she "graduates" from the Project into a

TABLE 6

PRIMARY DIAGNOSIS FOR CHILDREN ENROLLED
IN PARENT TRAINING PROJECT

Child Number	Diagnosis*
1.	Multiply handicapped, with seizures
2.	Mild cerebral palsy
3.	Profoundly retarded and multiply handicapped
4.	Cerebral palsy, non-ambulatory
5.	Behavior problem
6.	Brain damage, with seizures
7.	Cerebral palsy
8.	Down's Syndrome
9.	Developmentally delayed for environmental reasons
10.	Brain damage, behavior problem
11.	Behavior problem
12.	Spina bifida
13.	Down's Syndrome
14.	Possibly autistic
15.	Autistic
16.	Behavior problem
17.	Behavior problem
18.	Retarded, probably encephalitis
19.	Behavior problem
20.	Autistic
21.	Rey's Syndrome
22.	Language delayed
23.	Behavior problem, visually impaired
24.	Brain damage, with seizures

*These diagnoses were offered by the project staff. They are not necessarily professionally confirmed.

mainstream setting. Of those children who have left the Project since its inception, three have entered a local Head Start program, two have gone into a regular kindergarten or first grade classroom, six were placed in a self-contained special education classroom, one went to another private early intervention program, two moved away, five returned home, and there is no follow-up information on four of the children.

Funding for the Parent Training Project has involved a complex set of relationships between state and local agencies that even the administrative staff finds hard to explain. Cash and in-kind support during the 1978-1979 program year came from the following sources:

1. Appalachian Regional Commission
2. State Department of Mental Health
3. Highland Mental Health Center
4. State University
5. Sabina Church of Christ
6. Jackson City Knights of Columbus
7. Highland Regional Public Health Office
8. State-level Project Advisory Committee

The end result of this mixed bag of funding sources is that a significant amount of administrative money is made available to the Highland Mental Health Center as the delegate agency and the Department of Mental Health as the grantee agency. The above funding sources provide about $57,000, yet the operating budget for the Project is less than $40,000. The difference is used for HMHC staff and bookkeeping services and some administrative support for the Department of Mental Health.

The fine details of these intricate and inter-woven funding mechanisms are not as relevant here as the fact that the Project has

been successful in developing a mixture of private and public, local, state, and federal in-kind and cash support. The phase-out of ARC dollars has been anticipated and planned for. Future funding sources now being considered include charging parents a sliding scale fee, collecting third party payments through insurance programs (e.g., Medicaid), maintaining the Knights of Columbus donations, charging local school systems for tuition under the provisions of P.L. 94-142 and similar state statutes, shifting HMHC monies for outpatient and consultation/education services into the Project, and continuation of Department of Mental Health support.

The other striking feature of this budget is that the total amount supports services for as many as 12 children per year and as few as 5 or 6 children. During the 1978-1979 year, the program enrolled 6 children in Jackson City and 3 children in Sabina. The 6 children in Jackson City include one child in his third year in the program who is the son of a staff member, and 2 children who attend once a week or less. Thus, the per pupil cost has been relatively high--about $6,300 per child based on the total amount, or $4,400 per child based on the direct costs. Although annual proposals project serving as many as 30 children, the highest enrollment level at one time has been 12 children from 10 families. Chapter V will discuss at length the continuing enrollment problem faced by the Project.

Finally, it should be noted that there is much work to be done before the Project can expect to charge tuition to the schools for serving preschool handicapped children. Present relations between the Project and school administrators are strained at best. Although

P.L. 94-142 mandates provision of services to handicapped preschoolers, the law has yet to be implemented in the Highland Region for a variety of reasons. This issue also will be pursued in Chapter V.

Pike County

Pike County represents a middle ground between the very rural Hickory County and the increasingly urban Winchester County. Pike County is primarily agricultural, but its farms and nurseries are business operations rather than family plots. Its population is growing almost as rapidly as that of Winchester County, there are fewer poverty-level families than in any other county in the Highland Region, and the average educational attainment is the highest in the Region. A little over one-third of the county's residents live in Sabina, the county seat.

The variety of number of support services available to preschool children who are developmentally delayed is an indication that Sabina is a transitional town. Two programs which have helped meet the needs of preschool children are sponsored by the Health Department and Head Start. The health profession is very visible in Sabina. In addition to several private practices, Sabina supports a public health clinic and Pike County Hospital, as well as a private hospital about the same size and across the street from the County's.

The Department of Health's primary role relative to preschool children in Sabina is as a referral source. Another task of the Department of Health is to provide children enrolled in the local Head Start Program with physical and dental checkups. Children also receive vision and hearing screening from the Department of Health as part of the "diagnostic process," according to the Head Start director. The Head

Start program is administered by "Markham's Fork Development Corporation," and in addition to health services, provides early educational experiences to preschool children from the three county area surrounding Sabina. About 100 children from Pike County are enrolled in Head Start, 10% of whom are considered handicapped. In addition, part of the new vocational facility at Sabina High School houses a program for preschoolers living in the Pike County area. The program is designed to train high school students to observe children, identify their needs, and plan appropriate activities in preparation for a job in the childcare field.

The role of a local mental health association was referred to in Chapter II. As it has grown from its beginning in a single office which was converted from a living room, this organization has flourished, and it has become an integral part of the community. Its activities have ranged from arranging institutional care to collecting food and clothing for families in need. At present, there is a drive to build a mental health center in Sabina, and the volunteers have taken it upon themselves to match monies provided by the state. Through its efforts there exists an informal network of citizens who are concerned with community needs for mental health services. The network makes individual problems known to the larger community, whether the problem is finding suitable living for a retarded adolescent boy, or shoes and socks for a handicapped preschooler.

PTP Expansion Site

In January of 1978, the Parent Training Program began to develop an expansion site in Sabina for families unable to travel to Jackson City. The Highland Mental Health Center, which administers the Jackson City

program, runs the Sabina Parent Training Project through the mental health extension office in Sabina. The director of the extension office acts as a referral source to the Sabina Project, but as he explained, the primary administrative functions are carried out by the central office. The Highland Mental Health Center procures money for the program, primarily from Appalachian Regional Commission funds and the State Department of Mental Health, and is responsible for designing and implementing the program's budget. Staffing, purchase of materials, and leasing space for the program are also handled by the Mental Health Center. While general administrative tasks are entrusted to the Mental Health Center, day-to-day implementation of the Sabina Project falls on the shoulders of two women who were instrumental in establishing the initial site in Jackson City.

"Alice Banfield," an official of the State Department of Mental Health, acts as director of the overall replication effort in the Region and plays a central role in the Sabina Parent Training Project. In her visits to the program, which number between three and four per month, Mrs. Banfield does everything from handling minor administrative problems and training parents and staff, to planning and carrying out interventions with the children. The other key person in the Sabina Project is the teacher, "Sally Bean." Mrs. Bean first became involved with the replication program in Jackson City as a parent who had difficulties in managing her child. She and her child participated in the program's training. After two years, the child moved on to a public nursery school and the mother became a teacher in the program. From her home in Jackson City, Mrs. Bean now commutes to Sabina twice a week to run the satellite project. She is primarily responsible for training

parents and their children, but also manages the details of day-to-day operations. Mrs. Bean and Mrs. Banfield have established a good working relationship.

The Sabina Parent Training Project is housed in a Church of Christ located off the town square. The classroom is 40 feet long by 20 feet wide, cinder block construction with a linoleum floor. The walls are painted a pastel yellow, and there is a blackboard with a sign saying, "Love Jesus" at the far end of the room. There are two small rooms adjoining the classroom, one which is used as an office, the other as a training room where children receive individual instruction. There are very few decorations on the walls other than those created by the church for its Sunday School class. All materials are stored in a cabinet next to the teacher's office, and other than a tumbling mat and large, wooden, geometrically shaped figures used to enhance coordination, there are no activities or displays with which a child may spontaneously interact.

Since its beginning, five families have been served by the Sabina Parent Training Project, three of whom are still enrolled. Of the five families, four are white and one black (the three continuing families are all white). Family income has ranged from $4,000 annually to over $20,000 per year, with the majority falling in the $8-10,000 range. Four of the five families served live within 10 miles of the program's classroom.

A total of eight children have participated in the Sabina Parent Training Project. Five children were targeted for specific instruction related to their problems while three children, siblings of the other five, acted as "models" for the target children. The children's ages

ranged from just over 1 year to over 5 years old. Of the five target children, two have been characterized as behaviorally disordered while three have had multiple handicapping conditions.

In sum, the three counties in which observations occurred provided a range of social contexts from very rural to increasingly urban settings. This range produced contrasts and similarities that illuminated the relationship of the two programs (and one expansion site) to the communities in which they operate. The programs investigated were comparable in the children's age-range, federal funding sources, length of operation and kinds of families served. The programs offered contrasts in the type of child served, their interaction with parents, their physical settings, and their administrative sponsorship. These similarities and differences will be further explored in the presentation of findings.

CHAPTER IV

TECHNIQUES OF DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Now that the reader has an overview of the social and political context in which the two early intervention programs operate, it is necessary to describe in detail how the data were gathered. After discussing the various methods used in data collection, the next section discusses the analysis of 700 pages of transcribed field notes, 200 pages of written notes, and several hundred pages of documents. The next chapter provides a picture of the central themes that emerged from this data collection and analysis process.

Data Collection

The image of a triangle occurred repeatedly during the field work stage of this study. I find this perhaps more than coincidental, given my interest in structural design and the work of Buckminster Fuller. In any case, the triangle as a symbol of strength, integrity, and cohesion became a central metaphor in the methodology. There are two essential ways this image was used.

First, Denzin's (1970) interactionist perspective which calls for an inductive analysis of observed phenomena was a guiding framework. Such an analysis is contingent upon a dependent relationship between theory and method, tempered by an active sociological imagination that can view phenomena from a variety of perspectives to generate a variety of explanations. Denzin writes, "Methods are not atheoretical tools,

but rather means of acting on the environment and making that environment meaningful" (p. 6). As such, the method of participant observation is an operationalization of the symbolic interactionist theory discussed in Chapter I. This is an ecological perspective that leads to a concern for the situated meanings of phenomena. Understanding observed events or interpreting symbolic acts must rely on an understanding of the situational aspects of these acts. Interpretation must also allow for continual change in the context in order to account for the processual nature of reality. Thus, static forms of data collection such as surveys or other fixed measurement devices were seen as limiting observation of phenomena to an idiosyncratic moment. Through participant observation in conjunction with other methods, a broader scope and longer temporal perspective of the processes to be explained was developed.

Participant observation alone, however, cannot provide a complete picture of reality. Although it can be used to gain a general understanding of social context, the use of other information-gathering methods is required to gain a more complete perspective. Participant observation is a sensitizing approach (Denzin, 1970), but it is only a beginning:

> Once I have established the meanings of a concept, I can then employ multiple research methods to measure its characteristics. Thus, closed-ended questions, direct participation in the group being studied, and analysis of written documents might be the main strategies of operationalizing a concept. . . . The sensitizing approach merely delays the point at which operationalization occurs. (p. 14)

This means that methodology must be triangulated--that is, more than one source of data must be employed in order to generate valid hypotheses about observed phenomena.

In this study, the three primary sources of data--the three points on the triangle--were open-ended participant observation, focused interviews, and unobtrusive document analysis. The information generated by participant observation provided an understanding of the physical and social context within which behavior occurs. It was a necessary stage before more specific, focused observations could occur. The descriptive information in Chapters II and III was gathered primarily in the initial stages of field work through participant observation. As more time was spent in the field, participant observation data was negated or confirmed through analysis of documents and by asking specific questions of a variety of people.

The purposes of the initial stages of field work when participant observation was the leading edge of the methodological triangle were to:

1. Survey a variety of potential research settings
2. Survey those settings that were congruent with the problem of concern and which provided access
3. Establish initial contacts with informants in the setting
4. Develop agreements with primary informants about the observer's role(s) in the settings
5. Develop tentative propositions about what the primary issues of immediate concern in the setting were in the view of informants
6. Become familiar with the historical, social, political, economic, and physical characteristics of the setting
7. Become an accepted member of the groups in which observation was to take place
8. Learn the linguistic patterns and meanings of people in the setting

9. Identify salient issues that required more closed observations based on the next phases of field work--interview and document analysis.

Although this description of the method makes it appear to be a linear process, there was a significant amount of moving back and forth between open-ended participant observation and focused interviewing and document analysis. The focused activities opened up new avenues of inquiry that required us to temporarily back away from focused investigation and resume participant observation in order to gain a contextual understanding of a particular issue not previously encountered.

The interviews done in this study were what Denzin calls non-schedule standardized or focused interviews. A formal interview protocol was not developed prior to entering the field, as specific questions were not generated until a period of open-ended participant observation was completed. Then, as the areas of inquiry began to gel, general parameters of investigation were defined. Informants were not all asked the same question, but they were all encouraged to discuss the same topics in order to get multiple (triangulated) perspectives on the same issue. "Certain types of information are desired from all respondents, but the particular phrasing of questions and their order is redefined to fit the characteristics of each respondent" (Denzin, 1970, p. 125).

For example, it was useful to approach the more rural, locally-oriented people in Hickory County, especially on Laural Ridge, with open-ended conversation. This was less threatening and yielded richer data than if we were to ask highly specific questions that could have been viewed as meddlesome nosiness from outsiders. "Porch sittin'" became an important activity for soliciting opinions and explanations. More formal arrangements tended to stifle spontaneity and openness.

Long periods of silence, although initially uncomfortable for the observer, became a part of the interview session, and the observer soon learned that silence was not a sign of closure or rejection, but a normal pattern of everyday interaction. The initial tendency to fill the silent periods with specific questions or comments declined after it was realized that such gaps are normal and necessary from the perspective of the informants. On the other hand, when meeting with professionals in Jackson City, a specific question-answer-question format was used successfully. Informants here were more likely to have had experience with formal interviews, and could more readily conform to expected "interview behavior." This phenomenon was also experienced with higher levels of state and regional administrators who responded to the observers as though we might have been newspaper reporters--answering questions with succinct statements (sometimes sounding preformulated), steering us away from sensitive areas, and initiating closure when they felt they had given enough of their time and knowledge. In general, the informal interviews in rural communities lasted well over one hour, while the focused interviews in more urban professional settings lasted 30 minutes to an hour.

Another example of how the initial stages of issue-identification influenced interview methodology is seen in the approach to the Winchester County special education staff. Prior to meeting and interviewing the county special education supervisor, we had received several assessments of her personality and style from non-school people who had worked with her previously. The gist of these comments was that "Mrs. York" was not cooperative with non-school agencies and felt strongly that the schools could meet the needs of handicapped children without support from other community agencies. In addition, there was

strong evidence from four different people, none in the same agency, that she was responsible for counting children served by the Parent Training Project as children enrolled in Winchester County Schools, thus giving the appearance of meeting statutory requirements while the cost and effort were borne by a non-school agency. This prior information influenced heavily the choice of interview methodology in this case. It was decided to enter the setting as naive outsiders (the role of "graduate student" lends credibility to that assumed role) and ask open-ended questions that did not reveal specific prior knowledge about the administrative practices of the special education staff. Although the interview could have been confrontive, perhaps evoking a strong reaction to any suggestion that she was viewed as uncooperative or unethical, we chose to establish some rapport in the hopes of catching a view of her own perceptions of herself and her program that could then be weighed against other perspectives. This choice is also seen as less disruptive to the on-going processes in the community, and therefore a more ethically sound approach to doing field-based research.

The third point on the methodological triangle was document analysis. Here the goal was to understand the way in which individuals or organizations portray themselves in written form, usually in a formal, business-like manner. All the documents reviewed were unsolicited, i.e., they were not written for the research, but had some prior organizational function. The types of documents reviewed included:

1. Project proposals and accompanying materials (budgets, letters of support, correspondence with funding agencies, annual reports, contracts)
2. Personal correspondence between project staff and others
3. Lists of project participants, identified by name or number

4. Application forms of project participants, including family demographic information

5. Results of assessments or evaluations of project children

6. Referral documents from outside agencies sending children to the projects for assessment and treatment

7. Internal memos, logs, and minutes from meetings of the two projects and related organizations

8. Records of staff applications, time logs, and evaluations

9. Regional demographic data and other publications of the Highland Regional Planning Agency

10. Newspaper articles referring to the projects or to related organizations

11. Statutes and regulations affecting the two projects.

The information obtained from these documents was not viewed as objective reality, but as a counterpoint to the meanings expressed in formal observations and face-to-face interviews. Documentary evidence provided an "official" perspective not found in the everyday behavior of informants.

The second use of the triangle metaphor is implicit in the preceding discussion. The triangle represents not only a way of generating multiple perspectives at one point, it also can represent the temporal dimension of moving from informal, open-ended participant observation to formal, closed, focused interviews. The image is made clearer if this aspect of triangulation is viewed as a "wedge" approach to field work. In the early stages of site selection and entry, identification of informants, making reciprocal agreements, gaining access to information, and assessing the context of the projects, participant observation was the primary technique used. Here, at the broad end of the wedge,

the observer's role was a passive, reactive one designed to discover issues and themes to be scrutinized in more detail in later stages of observation. As time passed and specific themes became stronger and more concrete, observations shifted to specific, closed interview techniques. Here, the observer was more proactive, focusing attention on fewer phenomena with increasing intensity devoted to a narrower range of events within the setting. Not only were the observations more narrowly focused, there was a conscious effort to focus the attention of informants on specific topics. This process by definition limited the portion of reality that was observed, thus it involved rejecting those issues or themes which seemed extraneous to emerging hypotheses. The wedge narrowed both as an outcome of the deductive logic that guided the method and as a result of the inevitable force of time. Without an end date in mind, we could have stayed in the field for years, gaining rich insights into the macroscopic social setting without ever being forced into a more microscopic examination of specific events or themes.

It is important to reiterate that this process seems more linear than it actually was. In reality, the observations did not move in a straight line from the broad to narrow edges of the wedge. Rather, the process involved "spiraling" through the wedge, moving toward a finer resolution of the observer's lens but occasionally opening the lens up wide again to capture situational characteristics. This was viewed as a necessary way of checking the meaning of observed events within their larger context. In general, the descriptive material in chapters II and III represents data generated at the broad end of the wedge, and material presented in chapter V illustrates data which emerged from the narrower end of the wedge.

Data Analysis and Coding

Informal analysis of data began as soon as the field was entered. There was a constant process of questioning emerging data to make some sense out of it. Periodic retreats from the field were necessary to review progress and identify the next round of settings to observe, informants to interview, or documents to analyze. The formal data analysis process began after the first four months of field work were completed, which is when most of the observations in Hickory County had been finished. Using transcribed field notes, the data were coded according to thematic clusters or categories that seemed to be emerging. A simple numbering technique in the margins of the notes was used to identify 17 possible categories. The categories were not viewed as necessarily discreet or mutually exclusive. Some items were classified in more than one place, and some categories were collapsed in subsequent analyses. By October 1978, a list of thematic categories and operational variables to define each category was developed. This list included questions that emerged that would guide observations in Winchester and Pike Counties. Thus, to the extent that this research has been a comparative case study, Hickory County was the first site visited and therefore served as a baseline for generating questions to be asked at the subsequent sites. The questions that were formulated at the end of observations in Hickory County were:

1. What changes has the Parent Training Program experienced as it has shifted grantee agencies twice since its inception in late 1975?

2. What is the anticipated plan for replacing ARC funds now being phased out? What might be the consequences of shifting to other funding sources?

3. What has been the relationship between LEA's and the PTP re: recruitment and enrollment of handicapped preschool children?

4. To what extent has the PTP deviated from the initial model developed in an urban setting?

5. What are the social and economic characteristics of families that utilize the PTP?

6. What are the future plans and desires for the PTP as expressed by parents, staff, administrators, and others at present and higher funding levels?

7. What is the level of awareness of the PTP on the part of local and regional policy makers (both appointed and elected)?

8. How is the PTP publicized, to what end, and with what results?

9. What other resources and service systems does the PTP interact with, around what issues, and with what results?

10. What is happening at the new satellite center in Sabina in relation to the above questions?

The original coding of field notes was modified in order to reduce the number of categories and increase their discreetness. For example, an original category labeled "Assessment of Children" was collapsed into "Definition of 'Handicapped' and the Identification and Placement of 'Handicapped' Children." "Institutionalization and Bureaucratization Trends" was collapsed into "Management Characteristics." "Jackson City and Claver Comparisons" was collapsed into "Rural-Urban Relationships."

Below is the revised working list of thematic categories used to code the field notes:

1.0 Increased costs of goods and services

- 1.1 Community tax base
- 1.2 Changing economic status of community related to rural-rurban-urban transition

1.3 Personnel demands for salary and other budgetary increases

1.4 Overcrowding and deterioration of facilities

} later collapsed into 9.3

2.0 Competitive and cooperative relationships between public agencies

2.1 Recruitment of children for places in Head Start, Title I EIP, PTP, kindergarten, or day care

2.2 Conflicting or identical catchment areas

2.3 Conflicting or identical eligibility criteria

2.4 Resource sharing (or lack of) among early intervention programs

3.0 Definition of "handicapped" and the identification and placement of "handicapped" children

3.1 Situational interpretation of regulatory language, e.g., educationally deprived, disadvantaged, special educational needs, at-risk, developmentally delayed, handicapped, low-income, etc.

3.2 Perception of program staff re: status of children served

3.3 Availability and outcome of professional diagnoses

3.4 Enforcement of compulsory attendance laws with school-aged handicapped children

3.5 Parental choice of alternative placements for preschool handicapped and non-handicapped children

3.6 Screening, assessment, and placement procedures used by the programs

3.7 Parents' definition of "handicapped"

3.8 Post-program placement of children

4.0 Expectations and relations between program(s) staff and parents

4.1 Role and value of program(s) from parents' perspective

4.2 Role and value of program(s) from staff's perspective

4.3 Role and value of parents from staff's perspective

4.4 Intended goals for children from parents' perspective

4.5 Intended goals for children and families from staff's perspective

4.6 Amount and kind of parent-staff interaction

4.61 Parents in the classroom as aides
4.62 Parents in the home as teachers
4.63 Parents in parent meetings as decision makers

5.0 Cultural description

5.1 Physical and social characteristics of town, county, and region

5.11 General demographic indicators 1950-1978
5.12 General economic indicators 1950-1978
5.13 Geographic factors

5.2 Family status variables for program clients

5.21 Size
5.22 Structure
5.23 Income and employment
5.24 Migration patterns
5.25 Educational background

5.3 Language and mannerisms relating to cultural identity

5.4 Role of church and religion

5.5 Individual expressed values, including views on "family"

6.0 Integration of program into community

6.1 Awareness of program expressed by county court members, school board members, and other public agency administrators

6.2 Degree of support for program expressed by those in 6.1

6.3 Use of local media for program publicity and recruitment

6.4 Amount and kind of interaction with other early intervention programs

7.0 Availability and utilization of external support systems for two programs

7.1 Professional diagnostic and evaluation services

7.11 University in Jackson City
7.12 Training and technical assistance resources
7.13 Resources in nearby urban centers
7.14 Private professional resources (MD's)

7.2 State Office of Children and Youth Services

7.3 SEA Title I office

7.4 Urban PTP model

7.5 State Department of Mental Health (DMH)

7.6 Private charitable and civic organizations

7.7 Highland Mental Health Center

7.8 Transportation systems

7.9 Regional Department of Public Health

7.10 Regional Department of Human Resources (DHR)

7.11 Availability of cooperative placements

8.0 Management characteristics

8.1 Staff qualifications

8.2 Disposition of grievances

8.3 Emphasis on institutionalization, bureaucratization, and centralization

8.4 Patterns of communication among staff members

9.0 Individual and group response to external pressures: regulatory and legislative policy making

9.1 State policies and response

9.11 Fire safety codes
9.12 State mandatory services legislation
9.13 PTP replication resolution
9.14 Interpretation of Title I regulations by SEA; Commissioner's 1976 Memo
9.15 Interpretation of Title XX regulations by DHR
9.16 Size and authority of county courts
9.17 Program monitoring and accreditation by SEA and DMH
9.18 Facility licensing by DHR

9.2 Federal policies and reponse

9.21 P.L. 94-142 preschool mandate
9.22 ESEA Title I amendments and regulations
9.23 Head Start handicapped mandate; P.L. 92-424
9.24 Title XX regulations: 50/50 rule and the EIP
9.25 ARC funding phase-out
9.26 Proposed Head Start transfer

9.3 Local policies and response (later collapsed into 10.0)

9.31 EIP Ridge site closing
9.32 Wheel tax

9.33 Beer tax
9.34 Add-on sales tax
9.35 Property tax

10.0 Relevant political structures

10.1 Regional Children's Services Council

10.2 Title XX Advisory Board

10.3 Highland Mental Health Center Board

10.4 School boards

10.5 County courts

11.0 Evaluation methodology

11.1 Initial contacts; entry

11.2 Informed consent

11.3 Reciprocal agreements

11.4 Resistance to "evaluation"

11.5 Programs' previous experience with evaluations and expectations for this project

11.6 Identification of variable behaviors; public vs. private

12.0 Program design and history

12.1 Target population and changes

12.2 Staffing patterns and changes

12.3 Funding sources and changes

12.4 External regulations and changes

12.5 Daily program activities

13.0 Rural-urban relationships

13.1 Over the mountain vs. under the mountain (Hickory County)

13.2 Jackson City as "hub city" for surrounding small towns

13.21 Norristown-Jackson City
13.22 Sabina-Jackson City

13.3 Jackson City-Sabina-Claver comparisons

Once this list was complete, the next step was to take two copies of the field notes and cut them up so that the notes themselves could be rearranged according to the categorized headings. Where possible, the same item was placed under two different categorical headings to indicate that the same event could illustrate more than one theme. This added to the complexity of interpretation and helped avoid overly narrow explanations. A third set of notes was left uncut and marked to indicate where data were placed in the categorical arrangement. The use of this method may be illustrated by looking at categories 5.0, 10.0, 12.0, and 13.0 above. These represent the data sources for chapters II and III. Categories 3.0, 6.0, 9.0, and 11.0 cut across the findings, and thus became organizing themes for chapter V with the remaining categories used to portray the issues that emerged in consideration of integration, response to external mandates, and the process of evaluation.

The guiding principle of the methodology of this study has been that theory and method are interdependent, with theory determining method, and method determining the kinds of data collected. Triangulated data sources and the use of multiple methodologies which ranged from open-ended to highly focused were employed to develop a complete understanding of ecological variables and their relation to program implementation. In analyzing the data, thematic categories were inductively generated. This process resulted in the clustering of data into relatively discreet areas which will be explicated more fully in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V

THE PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

The central concepts that emerged from the field work were shaped by the initial questions posed. After completing the coding and analysis of notes, it became clear that some concepts cut across all the thematic categories, while others were relatively discreet and could be explained as independent phenomena. Thus, the inclusive concepts became guiding questions that could be imposed on the more discreet variables. As we worked through the notes and documents, it began to appear that category 6.0, Integration of program into community, was not a discreet variable but was an important element in understanding the data contained within the other categories. In addition, categories 2.0, 3.0, and 9.0--Competitive and cooperative relationships between public agencies, Definition of "handicapped," and Individual and group response to external pressures--emerged as mediating constructs that represented a middle-ground between the overall integration issues and the idiosyncratic descriptive and anecdotal data.

This hierarchy then produced two overriding themes that could be used to explicate the findings. First, we are concerned with integration, defined as (a) the level of awareness demonstrated by community decision makers that the programs existed, (b) the values expressed by community members and decision makers toward the programs, (c) the use of community media to make people aware of the programs, and (d) the programs'

relationship to social institutions such as the public schools and other public and private health and welfare agencies.

This latter component of integration leads to the second central theme--interaction. Interaction includes three components: program-community interaction, program-policy interaction, and program-family interaction.

1. Program-community interaction includes (a) the situated definitions of "handicapped" within community contexts, (b) the identification of a particular "target population" within each community, and (c) the flow of referrals from outside agencies to the programs.

2. Program-policy interaction includes (a) the response of program staff to federal policies (either legislative or regulatory), and (b) internal policy-making activities intended to respond to problems identified in program delivery.

3. Program-family interaction includes (a) the roles of parents of program children as decision makers; and (b) the goals for children's development as expressed by program staff and parents.

This chapter will develop these four themes based on the findings presented. The final chapter will then propose specific hypotheses generated by the findings.

Integration

A central question throughout this study has been: to what degree are federally designed and subsidized early intervention programs integrated into local social and political structures? The study has been concerned also with how that integration changed (increased or decreased) from the programs' initial implementation to the present, after four or five years of operation.

One of the least obtrusive and most accessible sources for answering these questions is the local media. It is a fairly simple matter to gather copies of county newspapers and skim them for any articles pertaining to the programs. In addition, the Parent Training Project had in its files a collection of news clippings published since 1975. Newspaper stories that cover some program event such as a field trip or parent meeting, announce the availability of openings, or report on a local contribution to the program are common for most early intervention projects. They are seen as a way to maintain public awareness, assure political support when necessary, and recruit children each year.

It was intriguing that the Hickory County EIP had a standing policy of not publicizing the program. The head teacher said, "We try to keep as quiet as a secret." The program has used no newspaper, radio, or poster publicity. The only incidence of newspaper reporting about the program occurred when the Ridge site was closed by the fire marshall, and even that news item was in the context of reporting on the school board meeting at which the issue was discussed. Although it was the lead item covered in the story--"Fire Marshall Disapproves of School Facility"--it only took one paragraph out of 15. The closing was mentioned in two successive weekly editions of the paper during the summer of 1978, and there has been no mention of it since then.

There are two reasons for this lack of publicity. First, the program staff does not want more applicants than it can handle. Each year there has been a waiting list of 15-30 families who contact the EIP beginning in the spring before fall enrollment. Thus, recruitment has never been an issue for the program. Children with special educational needs are not sought out. Rather, the staff is able to wait passively for the applications to come in and then choose eligible children from

among this group. The process is explicitly a first-come-first-served system, and it results in the program serving a select segment of the population. Parents who enroll their children one year may apply the next year for a sibling, or may tell their neighbor or kin about the project. Word-of-mouth is the primary source of publicity, thus families living in the same neighborhood and who interact socially are those who call first in the spring to be placed on the waiting list. Those who live in more remote areas are much less likely to hear of the program, especially if they have no children yet in the regular school system.

The second reason for this "secrecy" stems from the director's desire not to bring a potentially controversial activity into the public view. Mr. Judd is quite concerned that any publicity will call attention to a program whose existence is already tenuous. Because of the state commissioner's 1976 memo forbidding use of Title I funds for preschool programs, he is afraid that media coverage will lead to repercussions from higher levels. The regional Title I monitor, although aware that it exists, has never visited the EIP, and Mr. Judd wants to keep it that way. Mr. Judd is especially concerned that any negative reactions to the Ridge closing be kept out of the papers. He does not want county court or school board members to find a reason for not allowing the program's continuation.

In contrast, the Parent Training Project in Winchester County has used local media more frequently. Their files include six articles published in the county paper in 1976 and 1977. These articles focus on recruitment and fundraising. In addition, the PTP has printed brochures describing the program's services and target population. These brochures are distributed to area social service agencies in order to generate

referrals to the project. However, even this activity has not been sufficient to maintain enrollment at capacity or make area decision makers fully aware of the PTP. A state level consultant to the project said that most of the enrollment problems in Jackson City and Sabina are related to a lack of publicity, which she blamed on the PTP's principal. In Sabina, a local mental health worker said that, "it hasn't been publicized that well," and local policy makers, although they received brochures, needed to know more about the project if they were to support it actively. When the expansion site was first opened in Sabina in early 1978, there was no advance publicity or news coverage of the event.

Again, part of the reason for this low profile seems to stem from a desire not to be faced with more demand than the program can accommodate. It has been a policy in both Jackson City and Sabina to start the project with only a few children in order to develop a routine, train a handful of parents in the project's teaching methods, and then expand once a first generation of trained clients is established. However, many people related to the PTP, including staff, felt that the slow-start philosophy was carried on too long, and this has resulted in continuing problems with filling the enrollment.

Given this low level of publicity, how aware are local policy makers of these programs? In Hickory County, the two new school board members elected in the summer of 1978 did not know the EIP existed prior to their election. One of the new members represents the Ridge area. Ironically, the fire marshall who ordered the Ridge site closed lived in Claver but did not know the program existed until the local welfare office asked him to inspect it prior to granting a license to the facility. Outside of the county, the region's pediatrician had never heard of the

program, and the educational specialist for the Highland Mental Health Center was not aware of it. The Mental Health Center director, who is also chairman of the regional Title XX advisory council, knew the program existed but not in what form. A regional Title XX administrator had heard of the program in passing, but knew no specifics, including the reasons for the EIP's use and subsequent rejection of Title XX funds.

As for the Parent Training Project, more people were aware that it existed, but few of these knew its purpose or design. The Mental Health Center, as the delegate agency for the project, was quite aware of it. The pediatrician knew of it because he was a consultant to the project for about 1½ years. A Title XX administrator knew of the PTP, but did not know its functions or design. The principal of a Winchester County elementary school that received some PTP graduates thought that the PTP had closed down when we interviewed him. He confused it with a resource materials center also located at the university. In Sabina, the PTP staff member doubted that either county court members or school board members were aware of the project. The Head Start director in Pike County was also not aware of the expansion site.

In general, few local policy makers appear to be aware of these programs. There has been minimal publicity about the programs, and there has been no sustained effort to create either client or public support for the projects. In spite of problems that demand public response, such as the site closing and low enrollments, use of the media has not been viewed as a way to generate community support. The result has been very little outcry concerning the site closing and continuing problems with recruitment and enrollment.

Related to these issues is an assessment of the perceived value of early intervention programs from the perspectives of policy makers and

the general public. The negative view held by EIP staff of Head Start as a day care service for "negligent" mothers was discussed earlier. Head Start staff object strongly to the day care image, claiming to have a more comprehensive and desirable program than other early intervention or preschool programs. No love is lost between Head Start and kindergarten programs, either. Head Start programs that enroll 5 and 6 year-old children, handicapped or not, are viewed as taking these children away from kindergarten, thus lowering kindergarten enrollment and leading to the dismissal of teachers. The regional child development specialist related a conversation she had with a regional Head Start director:

> When I interviewed the director of Head Start up there, she said that the parents are begging her to keep their children in Head Start because the kindergartens are so rotten, and of course, the superintendent up there thinks that Head Start is keeping the children because they want to inflate their rolls and get a bigger amount of money.

Several times, when interviewing early intervention professionals in the region about the EIP or PTP, he or she would talk about the advantages of the program with which they were associated. For example, Head Start staff saw their services as better than those offered in the EIP or PTP, and better than what was available at home. A public health nurse said that the Women, Infants, and Children Supplemental Nutritional program is more effective than other alternatives because it creates long-term change in the dietary habits of families. Public school personnel saw their own programs as better because they could assist in the transition from preschool to school-aged programs. One school administrator said school-based early intervention activities could "revolutionize America" by working with children as young as 2 years old in order to improve their learning abilities.

Many negative comments were expressed concerning the role of the mental health center in providing early intervention or parent education activities. The pediatrician, Dr. Cooke, said that any efforts to support parents of either handicapped or normal children were bound to fail if offered through the mental health center. (Such efforts have occurred, and they have not been well attended or long lasting.) He felt that such activities would be more effective if run through churches or similar voluntary organizations. A university professor who is a consultant to the PTP told us:

> The people in the community see the mental health center as a place for crazies. The university may be isolated but it doesn't have that problem. When I was working out at the center we tried to get a couple of parents' groups going but the parents wouldn't come in because of the location. Besides, they just want to doctor them up out there without working with the family. They work on the traditional service delivery model, and that doesn't really solve the problem. I know this is a hard thing to say, but I'm not convinced that the people over there really want to see that much change occurring.

An administrator of the mental health center reiterated this view when speaking to the regional Children's Service Council.

> I've been here since 1970. That length of time gives me a fairly good perspective on service in the area. One of the biggest problems I've noticed is coordination among services and communication among the various agencies that provide services. Another problem is the identity of services, and I'm talking especially about mental health. We are identified as services for crazy people. We probably lose about 20 out of 100 people that come to us because of the way we get identified. It may eventually mean losing 70 out of 100 that don't ever use our services. Part of the problem is getting information to the people. Part of it is a philosophical question. Should we provide services through a central facility or through each of the existing systems the child is already a part of?
>
> Another problem we have is expectations of just what we will do. People are conditioned by the medical profession that we can cure them--you know, come in, give them a couple of aspirin and they'll go away cured. When people come into the mental health center and we tell them it's going to be a long drawn-out process and things aren't going to happen right away, they won't show up again. One problem we have now in the PTP program is in getting referrals. To some extent, we're in competition with Head Start. They don't

require much participation from parents and can get children enrolled easier than children in PTP where we ask parents to come in every cay.

The problem of parental involvement was also mentioned by a special education teacher who is now working with a PTP graduate. She did not think the project is a feasible alternative to Head Start or school-based programs because no transportation is provided and the parents are required to attend with their child daily. This view was congruent with the Winchester County special education supervisor's belief that the PTP does not have the staff or program necessary to qualify as a placement for handicapped children. Although the supervisor told us that the schools have used the PTP as a placement site ("We now have six, no three--well, actually, we have one child there."), the relationship between the supervisor and the program has been strained. The regional special education supervisor, who covers all the counties in the Highland area, also reportedly did not hold the program in high esteem, according to the PTP principal.

Finally, the university at which the program is located held a unique perspective of the program. From its inception, the PTP's value has been as a practicum training site for the university's special eudcation department. The program's relation to the university evolves from this function, and any attempt to move the program or change the design would be opposed by the university for this reason. One faculty member said that if the program were to close down or move to another site, the university would probably develop its own early intervention classroom in order to continue undergraduate training activities.

Program location seemed to be an important factor in determining the degree of community integration for the two programs. The university-based PTP did not have a good relationship with the public schools

in terms of referrals, placement decisions, or resource sharing. On the other hand, the public school-based EIP was fairly well integrated with the school system in all of these areas. Although there was little evidence of formal contact between EIP staff and kindergarten or first grade teachers, there were opportunities for informal contact at school functions. At the Ridge site, we observed the EIP children eating lunch in the school cafeteria where there was frequent social interaction between the EIP children and the older children who were either siblings, cousins, or friends. At the Claver site, the children were bussed to the Claver Elementary School for lunch until the 1978-79 program year, when the lunches were brought to the EIP classroom, thus removing one opportunity for interaction. In addition, the EIP Screening Committee which selects eligible applicants each year consists of the school system's severely mentally retarded (SMR) teacher, a former program parent, the local public health nurse, the school's attendance officer, and a local welfare administrator. The composition of this group enhances the level of community and school integration. In contrast, the PTP did not have such a committee and thus had fewer formal contacts with school and other agency personnel. Although the PTP has intended to develop an evaluation committee of parents and community representatives, which would enhance integration, the committee has never been formed.

A particularly sensitive issue we discussed concerning integration was the relationship between the two programs and the local Head Start programs. Because Head Start serves children of the same age and is required to set aside at least 10% of their enrollment for handicapped children, there is a good deal of competition and tension between Head Start and other early intervention programs. This was seen most clearly at a meeting of the Children's Services Council at which the issue of competition was discussed. At this meeting, a representative

of the state Resource Access Project[1] spoke about Head Start's handicapped services mandate and the need for inter-agency cooperation to identify and serve preschool handicapped children. A superintendent at the meeting said that it was harmful to children not to be in the public school if they were old enough. A Head Start director answered that she believed it was the parents' right to decide where the child should be, at least until the mandatory school age of 7. The superintendent viewed the problem as a regional one, not just limited to his own county. He asked several times, "What can we do about the problem of competition? How can we get the schools and the Head Start program to sit down and work out these problems?" It struck us that he was waiting for some form of third-party intervention. There was no inclination on the part of either the schools or Head Start to initiate their own discussion of the issue. The first time the Head Start staff approached this superintendent to talk about the placement of children was three days prior to the CSC meeting. At a later CSC meeting, a supervisor of instruction made the comment: "I feel like we're in competition with Head Start and that's bad. But we don't work with them very much to solve it." A mental health administrator responded:

> Yeah, it's partly a transportation problem. But also there's no identified person in Head Start who works with the public school system to get that child in and to get the information to the school system about what the needs of the child are.

One source of the Head Start-school friction stems from Head Start's advocacy activity in the implementation of P.L. 94-142. Head Start actively encourages parents to request services for preschool

---

[1]The Resource Access Project is a nation-wide project operated through the Administration for Children, Youth, and Families to assist Head Start programs in mainstreaming handicapped children.

children under the federal law, which is not appreciated by some school staff. Referring to the local coordinator of services for handicapped children, the Winchester County special education supervisor told us:

> Head Start's having a lot of trouble. They're not doing very well with providing services to handicapped children. You know they have this colored girl that grew up around here and then went up to New York to get an education. She came back here with a lot of big ideas. Seems to me they're more concerned with the law than with providing services.

Another factor that may be causal here is the historical development of kindergarten in the region. In the county represented by the superintendent at the CSC meeting, Head Start was implemented prior to the creation of a kindergarten program. Like many early Head Start projects, this one was based in the school system. The subsequent development of kindergarten was an outgrowth of Head Start when the latter moved into its own facilities. Thus Head Start had a longer history in the county and may have been viewed by parents as the preferred program for this reason. On the other hand, the first rural kindergarten in the state was established in Hickory County, and Head Start arrived a few years later. There was no indication of competition in Hickory County between Head Start and kindergarten, but there was competition between the EIP and Head Start.

We have already seen that the EIP held a negative view of Head Start. The feeling was reciprocated when Head Start had difficulty filling its Claver center in 1978. The director, in referring to the EIP said:

> That program is really hurting us. We can't get enough low-income children in Claver because the school's taking them. Up on the Ridge, we've had to close one center down and may have to close the other one. Maybe things will get better up there now that the school program has been closed down.

There are other possible reasons for the enrollment problem, such as declining birth rates, but Head Start staff view the cause as competition with the EIP.

A third source of friction was found in Hickory County where the school board refused to grant Head Start the use of public school busses for field trips. Although this practice was allowed in a nearby county, the Hickory County board turned down the request, causing ill feelings among Head Start staff.

Finally, when the Ridge EIP site was condemned by the fire marshall, the Hickory County school board investigated the possibility of moving the program into a community center already occupied by Head Start. When the Head Start director heard of this, she immediately called the local official in charge of leasing the building and asked her to forward the coming year's lease as soon as possible. Within 3 days the new lease was signed, making it more difficult for the EIP to move in. As the director said, "You have to know the powers that be in these small towns. Everybody knows everybody else, and you just have to know who to call."

There are informal contacts between Head Start and EIP staff. These contacts are based on friendships that develop outside of work settings. However, very little information about the two programs seems to be exchanged through these relationships. For example, the EIP staff was not aware that Head Start is also using the LAP as an assessment tool. Other information about classroom materials, staff training, and recruitment also is not shared. As the Title I director put it, "We don't work with them and they don't work with us."

The Head Start-PTP relationship is more formal. When we asked the Head Start director if she had any interaction with the PTP, she

replied, "I've worked very closely with Linda Davidson (the principal). Of course, she's no longer there and I haven't had any contact with them since then. Once one of our programs came down to the PTP to observe and get some training." One child enrolled in Head Start was referred to the PTP for treatment. The child, who was diagnosed as autistic, spent 2 days a week at the PTP and 2 days at Head Start. Head Start also serves as a post-PTP placement for children too young to enter the public schools. However, during the 1978-79 program year, PTP staff attempted to place two handicapped children in Head Start without success. After several weeks of trying to set up appointments and get a commitment from Head Start to accept the children, the staff finally gave up. One person said, "I guess they try to get out of it just like the schools do." One of these children was later placed in a private nursery shcool; the other child remains in the PTP.

The PTP is not viewed as being in competition with Head Start or the public schools, primarily because the PTP serves more severely handicapped children than either of these. The program's consultant from the Department of Mental Health belives that there is no competition because Head Start and similar programs emphasize readiness activities in traditional settings in contrast to PTP's individualized parent-based curriculum.

But the lack of competition does not necessarily produce cooperation. The PTP principal told us that she receives "no cooperation from the county special education supervisor." Several people, including the principal, told us that the schools were carrying PTP children on their own enrollment lists to give the impression that these children were being served by the schools as mandated by state and federal law. This became apparent when the Winchester County special education staff called

to inquire about a PTP child's diagnosis and medical history. The principal refused to disclose the information on the grounds of confidentiality, and asked how the school got the child's name in the first place. The school, in turn, refused to answer that question.

The principal said this "double counting" also was occurring with a PTP child from a different county. In this case, the mother approached the school board to request mileage compensation for driving her child daily to the PTP and back, a round trip of about 100 miles. After 9 months of negotiations, the school finally offered to pay her 5¢ a mile. Against the advice of a state special education official, she refused and demanded at least twice that amount. The issue was still unresolved several months later, by which time the child was no longer enrolled in the program. It has resulted in continuing tension between the PTP and the county school boards.

The issue of double counting was discussed at length by the state director for replication of the PTP projects, Paul Alinsky:

> When that issue first came up, the issue was not a child find or liaison to the next placement kind of issue. The issue was, I won't mention names, double counting of kids. The only service in the world they were receiving was at PTP, but to learn that a couple or three of those families were being double counted by the school systems, and the initial request in terms of contact was. it appeared to us, that all they wanted to do was to get the rest of the names so they could double count them; not providing mileage, not providing a nickel's worth of service but receiving the credit. That was unacceptable to me. It still is. But now there are two other issues here: the child find issue, alright. I'm committed to child find; I think it's the only way we're going to get enough dollars into this state through P.L. 94-142 so that local school systems will begin to realize that it can be to their advantage to serve handicapped kids rather than to ignore their presence. And the liaison kind of things in terms of the kid moves into a school system and information about his prior treatment; I think that often is useful, too. But what we have here, and it's one that I think is all that I ever asked for, well, I think Linda took it kind of another step--is that that's a parent's prerogative. That's all. We have to assure our parents that we, again, are not going to turn over a piece of information without their prior approval, on a case-by-case basis. So for child find purposes,

for the liaison relationships with school systems, if the families said, "Okay," I think it's our responsibility to sit down and talk about the advantages and disadvantages of doing that and they sign it, fine. But for anybody, from the Winchester County Schools or anybody else to call up and say we need a list of the kids that you have served or are serving or whatever. I hold by that decision. But I think Linda took it a step further with just resistance and non-cooperation, almost without aiming for protection of the parents.

The Winchester County School System just assumed that they had the right of access to that information and we say, well, you do if the parents want you to. And yeah, people don't like us for that reason. But I still think it's the best way to go. And, as a matter of fact, hell, we were doing things 10 years ago that the Buckley Amendment only in the last 4 years had made people do. So we are a little bit arrogant on that issue. In fact, we were protecting rights of the people involved in this program long before we were compelled by law to do so, and we just like the way it feels and we're continuing to do that. But that doesn't mean resistance and non-cooperation; that just means that the person in the situation who's right it is to make that decision is going to be consulted before we release anything. And this is not playing general at the expense of the lives of the soldier; but goddammit, unless you turn those kids out and force the community to begin to come up with the services that they're obligated to provide, then you're not doing anybody any favor in the long haul in the whole Highland area or Winchester County.

Goddammit, they are obligated, legally obligated--I don't care about moral responsiblities--legally obligated to provide services to those kids. And if you hold onto them and begin to do things that your program was really not designed to do, namely be a 3 or 4 year shelter for families, you know, over the long haul, you're not letting the community respond the way it's obligated to respond to the needs of those people. There's no question that we're letting other systems off the hook,

Mallory: Is there any place at any of the PTP sites in the state where you do have a cooperative relationship with the school systems in terms of having them provide you financial support for meeting their obligations under the law?

Alinsky: Case-by-case, and it's only mileage. But I don't fault the school systems. Until the P.L. 94-142 monies begin to flow there's a lot they can't afford and we've had to fight in some cases. In some cases, we fought once, then they were cooperative after that. But, in terms of providing mileage for families and beginning to take that whole staffing process seriously, for example, under P.L. 94-142, I think by definition, Bruce, that a system that is early intervention and that is parent-implemented is in a somewhat antagonistic role with the traditional school systems' approach. But that doesn't mean that it has to be bitter enemies;

> it's just that we have more outspoken parents. We provide support to those parents as they begin to insist upon appropriate educational placements and treatment of their children.

This tension between early intervention programs and the schools over compliance with state and federal mandates was summed up by a regional public health administrator who operates a home visiting program for at-risk infants from low-income families:

> We should act as an early warning system. Our role should be to identify children when they're very young. For instance, we can identify a spina bifida child when he's 2 years old and then tell the local school district that in a couple of years they're going to be receiving this child. It's time for them to gear up now to get ready for this child so they can provide the services as they're supposed to. Right now our interaction with the school system's not really good or bad; really the best way to describe it is just as "very little." I see us as being in the position of advocating and I want us to move into that role even more in the future. When the parents go before the school board and ask for services from the school, usually the school just turns around and blames the parents for causing all that trouble; usually the school says something to the parents like, "Well, now if we go and provide all these services for your kids, you're just taking away the services from all the other kids. Why do you have to cause all this trouble?" I feel that there's an ethical obligation to really push the school system to serve these kids. You know right now, everybody's kind of reluctant--that is, both the staff and the parents--to really do this, push the school board to provide these services that the state says they're supposed to provide, but I hope that maybe we can do a little bit more of that. I know I've got a couple of staff that aren't going to be reluctant at all and are just waiting for me to give them the word. I have been telling my staff that the state does have special money earmarked to provide special educational services for these children.

The issue of integration is essentially a matter of open communication flow and knowledge about what services are available for handicapped children. Lack of communication and knowledge lead to friction, competition, and duplication of services at best. At worst, it means that some children do not receive the services to which they are entitled. Turfing, jealousy, and personality clashes all appear to affect program integration, as illustrated by an excerpt from a conversation with Dr. Cooke:

Mallory: Is there a problem with finding placements and services in the region for preschool handcapped children?

Cooke: There's a hell of a lot of stuff available; you just can't find out what it is. Everybody seems to be doing their own thing. What we need is some kind of central office to tie all these agencies together. You have two or three programs fighting over the same kids; that's just crazy. The Mental Health Center refuses to work with us; the schools aren't any help at all--the supervisor of special education over there thinks the school can handle every problem that there is--she refuses to work with the local folks. Hell, I know I can't provide all the information that they need; I'm just a doctor. I don't know what the educational needs are and the psychological needs are of the families. I need some help. I can't do it all on my own. But these agencies don't seem to be willing to work with anybody else. There seems to be a major problem with this Mrs. York, the supervisor of special education over there. I've tried to call her up a couple of times but she's refused to work with me. Some of the teachers now, when they make referrals to me, contact me directly rather than going through her, because she isn't any help. I really don't know what the services are in the area. Somebody ought to be providing that information to us. I just heard about the Re-hab Center in [an urban area] recently. We placed a child down there and we had a very successful experience. It's really sad we never knew about it before now.

Nobody's talking to anybody else. The ear-nose-throat man is mad at the university's speech and hearing clinic so he brings in a team from 60 miles away to do the audiological screening up here. And now the regional public health office wants to get something going. Somebody from there came to see me the other day about starting a new speech and hearing center. That's just crazy to have three speech and hearing programs going on in the county and they can't even sit down and talk to each other.

Interaction

Program-Community Interaction

In addition to assessing the degree of integration, we were also interested in program interaction with external structures. Interaction is defined here as the process of reciprocal influence that occurs between the programs and their surrounding communities. We sought to discover in what ways the presence of the program would change community structures and process, and, conversely, how the community would cause the program to change over time. We will discuss three aspects of

interaction below--the definition of program eligibility, the situated meaning of "handicapped," and the flow of referrals to the programs. These are interdependent factors, and their relationship to one another will be the focus rather than their discreet characteristics.

The word-of-mouth recruitment process used by the EIP has already been discussed. Once a pool of applicants is established by August of each year, a screening committee is formed to review the applications and determine who is eligible. At the same time, the home visitors go to the homes of the applicants to administer the LAP. Any child who falls 6 months or more behind on three or more areas of the LAP is considered developmentally delayed and therefore eligible. The screening committee considers both the LAP results and any prior knowledge they have about the family to make their judgments. Very few children are rejected each year. Almost all the applicants are found to score below the cut-off, and those that do not often are found to have other circumstances that would make them eligible. For example, one child who scored within the normal range had a mother who is disabled by multiple sclerosis, and he was accepted. Betty Garrett verified this when she told us:

> Well, we hardly ever turn away anybody. We had one little boy in Claver last year that tested too high; the only one we had to call back and say, "Hey, I'm afraid you won't be able to come to school." And when we had Title XX we had a few that were too high income that really wanted to come and we had to say your income's just too high. We had maybe a dozen, all around Claver. There's not been too many people that we've had to turn away. And we've never turned away any one because of a handicap or a disability. Never had that problem.

Since the program's inception in the fall of 1974, there has been a deliberate shift in eligibility criteria, moving from family income to developmental status. This shift has been the result of local policy decisions rather than any external mandate. However, the shift is

congruent with current national trends to move from criteria based on equity to criteria based on academic competence. Below are two excerpts from conversations with EIP staff that illustrate this historical trend. Betty Garrett is the head teacher and Eugene Judd is the Title I director.

Mallory: One of the things that I'm interested in is the kinds of kids that you serve. Do they have to be at least 6 months behind on the LAP?

Betty Garrett: Yes. Now that has been changed. The first year, we started up with the children that had to be in a certain income bracket. The family number and the income is what we based our opinion on. If they met the guidelines that way, they were in the program. The second year, the same guidelines. The first and second years exactly alike. But the third year we had Title XX money and the guidelines--50% of the children had to be AFDC, and the other 50% had to make the guidelines economically, just as before. And this year, we went back to Title I, and the guidelines have changed; they no longer had to be a certain income, they had to be 6 months behind in three or more of the areas that we tested.

Mallory: So this is the first year you've used just that LAP criteria?

Betty: Yes.

Mallory: But you've used the LAP test every year; this is the first time you've used it for eligibility?

Betty: Yes.

Mallory: You think you would rather continue on that system? Now you've had several different systems, what do you think is the ideal one?

Betty: The ideal situation would be to choose the children based on an educational need, which is the LAP test. Because, you know, people have--maybe they're right--for a long time people have thought that if you were poor you were dumb, but I don't believe that. I believe in being dumb and rich (laugh). I mean I do. I think you can be very educationally deprived and be from very well-to-do families. And need to go to school just as bad as anybody else.

Mallory: There's a lot of discussion now in Washington about Title I money. There's been a suggestion that rather than being based on financial need; you know, now Title I programs are always set out in regions that are poor. But some people want to change that so it is based on academic test scores just like you do here.

Betty: I'm sure that the need's there but it's also other places.

Mallory: Yes, but you think it would be best to go towards just looking at the educational need, regardless of income so you could be serving anybody?

Betty: Anybody. Anybody that needs it.

Mallory: And that's pretty much the way it is this year, isn't it?

Betty: That's exactly what we did this year [1977-78].

This view expressed a value position concerning the needs of middle income families. However, the views expressed by administrators reflect political priorities as well as values.

Mallory: How has the income criteria changed since the program began?

Eugene: Over the past couple of years we've tried to serve the middle- and upper-income families that need special help. All families need special help, not just the low-income. Most of the federal programs that have come down to us for the past few years have just been for low-income, low-income, and we need some programs for the other families that need help too. Everybody needs help.

These views were heard again one day on the bus when the driver and the home visitor were talking about the change in eligiblity criteria. The driver said that she thought it was good that there was a program for the middle and upper class because no such service has been available before now. The home visitor agreed, saying that the EIP began serving these groups two years ago after only serving low-income families in the first two years of the program.

Three members of the screening committee were interviewed and each one was asked to explain the eligibility criteria for the EIP. There was some confusion over the relative importance of income and developmental status. A local welfare office administrator said:

The first thing they go by is income. They also give the children some kind of test. I don't know very much about it. Primarily they go by that.

Mallory: So you mean the first thing they look at is the income, and then they look at the test results?

Administrator: Well, maybe they go by the test but consider income along with that. The test has a bunch of different things. I'm not too aware of it really. Things like how they use their hands, you know, that kind of stuff. I really don't know what it is--gross motor, things like that.

I just went down there and we met and went over the applications and we take the ones that do the worst and then take the other ones later. I'm really not too familiar with how that all works. You know how it works.

Later in the interview, he mentioned that the welfare office sends a computer printout with all the AFDC children below 6 years old in the county to the school. "I think they use that for doing their recruiting, so I guess that means income is a factor."

A school administrator on the screening committee said the primary criteria are related to test scores, but the committee also takes other needs into account. He said there were some specific cases where the test scores might not be as important as family needs, for instance, "if the mother might be running around with men, that kind of thing."

A public health nurse said that the primary criterion is family income. Many families are in a "pitiful, sad situation," and family need is considered first in reviewing the applications. She said the committee considered test results to some degree (she referred to the test as "the Denver" rather than the LAP). Beyond income and test results, exceptional cases are considered such as the child with a disabled mother. In mentioning the test, she said, "The items failed were things that the mother would normally teach--things like counting, talking, colors, you know, things like that." Table 7 indicates changes in family size, age of the mother, and family income for the EIP since it began.

TABLE 7

CHANGES IN FAMILY SIZE AND INCOME

Program Year	Average Number of Siblings	Average Age of Mother at Enrollment	Average Family Income (Approximate)
Ridge			
I	2.1	28.1	$3,300
II	2.5	28.2	3,500
III (Title XX)	3.9	29.4	4,300
IV	0.7	27.0	6,700
TOTAL AVERAGE	2.3	28.1	$4,450
Claver			
I	2.0	28.9	$4,000
II	1.8	27.3	3,900
III (Title XX)	1.8	N/A	N/A
IV	N/A	28.0	6,400
V	0.3*	N/A	8,500
TOTAL AVERAGE	1.9	28.1	$5,700

*Only includes siblings under 3 years old; not included in total average.
N/A = not available.

Given this conflicting view of eligibility criteria, we should briefly describe the children observed in the program. In general, we were struck by the healthy and "normal" appearance of the children given their assessment of significant delay and/or impoverished living conditions. No children had observable handicaps other than a need for eyeglasses, moderate articulation problems, and some immature coordination. We reviewed each pre- and post-LAP test given to all program children since the first year, and found that almost all were significantly delayed in August. By the following May, most had made tremendous gains of 10 to 24 months on the post-test. As an example, at the Ridge School in the 1977-78 year, gains ranged from 7 months to 3 years over an 8 month "treatment" period. The average gain was 19 months in cognitive development and 15 months in language development. When we examined the LAP test booklets closely and asked the head teacher to explain how she scored the tests, a great deal of inaccurate scoring was revealed. A critique of the EIP's use of the LAP was provided to the staff as part of the program evaluation.

In the winter of 1977, 43 of the EIP children were screened for communication and visual motor disorders by a BEH-funded outreach project based in the state capital. Certified audiologists and speech pathologists carried out the screening. Only three children failed any part of the screening. Seven children were identified who needed further teacher observation but did not require professional referral. For the most part, the children were found to be healthy, intact, and developing well, according to the outreach project director. Some children were congested at the time of the screening, which may have produced poorer hearing test results, but no significant handicaps were identified.

Another way to assess the status of the children is to see how many were placed in special education classes after participating in the EIP. We consulted with the county special education supervisor and learned that 26 of the 141 children who participated in the first 3 years of the program are now receiving special educational service either in resource rooms or the county's self-contained classroom. Twenty-two percent of the Ridge children have been placed in a special education program, and 17% of the Claver children have been placed.

The EIP staff is sensitive about how they label the children, especially in their interactions with parents. The staff believes that the children are developmentally delayed, but they are careful not to give parents the impression that there is really anything wrong with their children. The head teacher said she believed that if they give the impression that the children are abnormal, then parents, especially the middle-income parents, will not utilize the program for fear of having their children associate with slow learners. At a parent meeting, Eugene Judd told the parents, "Your child is not unnormal, your child is just a little bit different."

In a private conversation with us, Mr. Judd called the children "deprived," in the sense that, "any child whose mother works is deprived." The number of "deprived" children is growing in the county because of rapid industrialization, according to Mr. Judd. Thus, he believes the need for programs such as the EIP is also growing.

The expressed desire to serve children regardless of income status moves the EIP away from the initial purposes of its funding source--Title I of the ESEA. However, recent debate in Washington indicates that the EIP may just be ahead of its time in this respect. There is certainly a good deal of sympathy with such a policy shift

within the Highland Region. We heard many educators and social service providers lament the narrowness of means-tested programs. The Title I director believes one rationale for broadening eligibility criteria to include higher income families is that such people can provide more articulate and dependable support of the program before the county court and school board. It is better to have "children of a doctor or somebody like that" should the program ever require major funding at the local level. The head teacher argued that income eligibility criteria are "just as discriminating as discriminating against someone on the basis of color." The Title I regulations do not mandate a means-test for individual program participants, but require the program "meet the special educational needs of educationally deprived children." The clear intent of Title I is to serve low income children, given its funding formula which is based on the number of families in a school district who are below the poverty level and who are receiving public assistance (P.L. 95-561). According to the Title I director, it is the absence of an individual means-test that allows the program to serve the clientele of its choosing.

Head Start, food stamps, and other federal programs with income criteria are viewed as punitive.

> All those programs punish the working family. The day care, the Head Start, the income guidelines are just too low. Only the welfare families can use them. If you own 10 or 15 acres of land but you're just getting minimum wage, you can't get food stamps.

A Head Start teacher said:

> There aren't as many poor children in the county as there were 10 years ago. Poverty has been moved out of the county. If two people are working at the minimum wage of $2.65, then that puts them over income and that's crazy.

(The 1978 Head Start income ceiling was $6,200 for a family of four.)

We also heard county judges and human service professionals express a

desire for broadened eligibility at meetings of the Children's Services Council. For example:

> The problem is transportation. Nothing is available for the middle section. There's a lot of services available to the low income people that aren't available to the middle income people, and that includes transportation.

We should note that virtually all of the comments people made about income guidelines were unsolicited. Regardless of the topic we were pursuing, the issue came up frequently in conversations.

The Parent Training Project has never operated with income criteria, so many of the issues we encountered in Hickory County were not repeated here. However, the meaning of "handicapped" also took on a situated definition in the PTP. The primary criteria for determining eligibility is, "If the parent says there's a problem, it's a problem." The PTP does not do its own diagnoses and assessments, but refers children to local or regional clinicians. Accurate and honest diagnoses appear difficult to obtain from the point of view of PTP staff and parents. The principal said that physicians usually tell parents that their child will grow out of a problem and special attention is not necessary. The pediatrician for the region does give accurate diagnoses, according to the staff. But the principal said that parents often do not return to him because they cannot accept the reality of their child's handicap.

The dilemma that emerges from accurate diagnosis and the concern for labeling is illustrated in a story related to us by a PTP staff member, Nellie Flatt. While describing the attempts of a PTP mother to obtain mileage payments from her school board, Nellie said:

> Dr. Cooke wrote a letter for Mrs. Wilson so she could show it to the special education person up there, I don't know her name. And you know Billy isn't all that bad off but in the first paragraph, Dr. Cooke kind of spelled it out real bad as if it was the

> worst possible case and he used words like "retarded" just to prove to the school people that Billy really needed the services. Dr. Cooke also praised the school board in the letter to kind of positively reinforce them.
>
> [Observer's comment: I noticed immediately that she used the term "positive reinforcement" in this situation. She's picked up the operant lingo through her participation in the program.]
>
> Resuming the quote: Then later on in the letter, Dr. Cooke explained really how well Billy was doing and what he needed and why it was important for him to come to the program. Well, the superintendent made copies of the letter and passed copies of the letter around to all the school board members to see at the meeting that Mrs. Wilson went to. I think that's just awful. That means he'll be labeled for life. I think that's just shocking.

Another example of the problems associated with diagnosis is seen in the interaction between a regional speech and hearing clinic and the Winchester County special education staff. The clinic director told us that the school system refused to accept the diagnosis she had provided on a 5-year-old severely handicapped child. After she sent a copy of the diagnostic report to the parents and a copy to the school:

> The school recounseled the parents and told them that the child did not need any services. Then the parent turned around and blamed me for telling them that something was wrong with their child and charging them $40 when the school says that there's nothing wrong. The parents get stuck with the bill, they get mad at me, and the child doesn't get any services. That's when I called Mrs. York on the phone when I found out that they had said that she didn't need any services. Boy, was I ever mad. I told her right away what I thought of her and I told her that I wanted a meeting. I wasn't going to talk to her over the phone about the issue, and I'll be over there in 30 minutes. Well, when I got there, she had the entire staff there in front of me and that's when we had some words over the issue.

This problem was probably exacerbated by the clinic director's open pressure on the schools to comply with mandatory education laws.

The children we observed at the PTP were clearly handicapped in some way. (See chapter III, Table 6 for a listing of their diagnosed conditions.) Although the original urban model was designed to serve "oppositional children" who required behavior management, the Jackson

City PTP has worked with a range of handicapped children. The director of replication for the Parent Training Projects recognized this shift.

> The proportion of delayed and physically impaired children served in Jackson City compared to proportions in all the other programs is just way out of kilter. It really is more than any other place, in state or out of state. For a variety of reasons, we drew those kinds of folks. We drew long-termers rather than the brat cases which are quicker turnover.

Within the regional Head Start program, we encountered another example of situated meaning. In an interview with the program's handicapped services coordinator, we were told that the project is now serving 43 handicapped children out of a total enrollment of 563. Twenty-four of these children were labeled "speech impaired." But when we probed to see what degree of impairment was present, she said that that group includes two children with cerebral palsy, one child with spina bifida, and three emotionally disturbed children. The reason she does not use the primary handicapping condition to describe these children, and uses the more generic "speech impaired," is because she believes the diagnostic labels to be stigmatizing. This then helps prevent segregation of the children when they enter the public school.

> They'll put the normal kids off here in this corner and the handicapped kids off here in that corner. Now that's not mainstreaming. None of the Down's Syndrome children ever go into the normal classroom. They just look at the child's label and then place the child in special education without asking what the child can do.

Thus, she feels a duty to protect the children against automatic segregation by giving them a less severe, more remediable label. The process, she belives, forces the schools to look at each child individually before determining placement.

The last illustration of program-community interaction involves a look at the flow of referrals into the programs from other agencies.

In the Hickory County EIP, there was no evidence of a formal referral process into the program. Because of the low profile maintained by the program, and because it is not viewed as a service for significantly handicapped children, it does not seem to attract referrals from health care or social service agencies. Some informal referrals take place in the screening committee meetings if a committee member has personal knowledge of a delayed child whom he or she feels would benefit from the program. We saw earlier that the welfare department provides a list of AFDC recipients to the program, but this is not a case of individual referral. Rather, it has been used for general recruitment purposes, especially during the year in which Title XX funds were used.

In contrast to the EIP, the Parent Training Project does have several referral sources in the region. One way the PTP hears about children is a circular process in which Dr. Cooke, the pediatrician, refers children to a comprehensive diagnostic clinic in the state capital, which in turn refers the children back to the PTP. This "referral loop" also occurs through health care providers other than Dr. Cooke. Another referral source is the local school system. However, in Jackson City, the special education administrative staff is no longer referring children either to the PTP or the regional speech and hearing clinic, due to the differences between the schools and the programs described above. In addition, a school-based early childhood program that occasionally identifies handicapped children among its participants has not referred children to the PTP because all of the children's mothers work, thus precluding them from attending the PTP daily as required. As Nellie Flatt said, "We can't use the early childhood program because all the parents work there, and they wouldn't

be willing to stop work to have their children come here." In Sabina, the relationship with local schools appears to be better, and the expansion site there has received a few referrals from the schools according to a local mental health worker associated with the project. Yet this view was contradicted by the expansion site teacher, Sally Bean, who said she had no contact with the local schools. Sally believed that most of the referrals were coming from the Highland Mental Health Center, the local health department, and an urban diagnostic center.

Since 1975, the PTP has never achieved its full enrollment capacity. Although part of the problem can be attributed to a conscious decision to start slowly, the continuing enrollment shortages are partly the result of poor relationships with potential referral agencies. These poor relationships are due to organizational conflicts over serving pre-school handicapped children and a lack of awareness among potential referring agencies as to the purposes and functions of the PTP. In addition to the referral sources mentioned above, one of the most logical and accessible sources is the Highland Mental Health Center, which administers the program. As a community-based service that does a good deal of preventive family therapy and outpatient counseling, the HMHC comes into contact with families with young children. Many of these families have children with developmental and behavioral handicaps that cause stress that could be ameliorated by the PTP. Yet, the principal told us that she had never received an "appropriate referral" from the HMHC. The director of Children and Youth Services, to whom the principal is directly responsible, has only visited the PTP site three or four times since 1975. The principal feels that he is uninformed about the program ("Not only is he dumb, but he's ignorant too."), and does not encourage

his clinical staff to identify potential PTP families. The PTP state replication director described the problem:

> I don't care if you're part of the same organization or you're across town in another system or whatever--I mean we're junk mail in the lives of people who have other things to do, and the only way, not just PTP, I mean that's true with anybody, the only way that you have people be sensitive to the need and seize an opportunity to make an appropriate referral is not to pester them, but simply to keep yourself present. To let them know, you know, that you want them to think about you and that's not something that can be done once at a staff show-and-tell. It's not something that's going to grow out of a single visit over to the classroom by a mental health worker person. It's something that you've got to keep working on all the time, all the time, you can't ever say that folks are going to wake up in the morning and think about who can I send over to PTP today. I don't condone that fact; I think it's just a part of life, that's all.
>
> I'm willing to be proved wrong, but right now, my operating premise is simply that no one has gone out of their way in a persistent, consistent fashion, to let other people know on the MHC staff that it's important to (a) give referrals, (b) that they are especially good for those referrals, and (c) that we can work very closely together. It's not a matter of either/or, it is a matter of fact because of the things that that program can do and can't do. Simultaneous therapy, complementary services are the name of the game. They have been kind of mutually exclusive situations, in which if you're counseling some family for marital difficulty, just because they might enroll in the PTP program doesn't mean that they have to drop out of therapy; in fact, it's quite the opposite.

One attempt to increase the flow of referrals (and income) into the program is a contract between the Mental Health Center and the regional public health office to train public health home visitors in the PTP applied behavioral methodology. It is hoped that these weekly training sessions will increase the level of awareness on the part of public health paraprofessionals so that they will be alert to families who would benefit from the program. After several months of training, no new referrals came from the public health office to the PTP. As the replication director put it, "We'll see what happens. It's not going to be a saving grace at all."

Confounding the enrollment problem was the absence of a principal for the last 5 months of 1978. The original principal, Linda Davidson, left for a variety of reasons including continuing conflicts over salary and authority with the Mental Health Center administrators and a strong desire to enter a business administration master's degree program at the university. During this period, it was very difficult for the teaching staff to maintain community contacts in order to facilitate referrals. The Mental Health Center took so long to find a replacement that several people related to the program suspected that the administrators were going to let the program die quietly. However, a new principal was hired in January, and the PTP staff began to feel some support from the Mental Health Center.

Program-Policy Interaction

The major source of policy making activity that affects the EIP and the PTP is federal laws and regulations that pass through the state government where they may or may not be modified. Local policy makers are in a reactive role vis-à-vis early intervention policies. They have very little authority over the funding patterns, continuation decisions, and eligibility criteria prescribed at the federal level. As we have seen, this does not mean that there is no local autonomy, but local decisions are more often attempts to subvert federal objectives rather than to initiate new activities in response to identified community needs. Local decision making is a residual product of minimal oversight.

There are four federal policy areas that have direct effect on the two programs. These include the gradual phasing-out of funds from the Appalachian Regional Commission, the allocation of Title I funds (and regulations affecting the relationship between Title I and P.L. 94-142), the requirement under Title XX to serve 50% welfare recipients (income

maintenance) and 50% low income families (income eligible), and the implementation of P.L. 94-142 as it effects preschool aged handicapped children. In addition to the narrative description of the interaction between the two programs and these policies, a graphic illustration of their realtionship is presented in Table 8.

ARC funding phaseout. The Appalachian Regional Commission was authorized under the Appalachian Regional Development Act (P.L. 89-4) in 1965. In 1969, Congress instructed the ARC to begin experimental child development programs for children from birth to 6 years old in Appalachia. This effort, combined with the concurrent development of Head Start and Title I programs, marked the beginning of comprehensive early intervention programs in Appalachia, administered by 18 different agencies and bureaus, of which the ARC and Office of Economic Opportunity were the major contributors (Education Commission of the States, 1971). The intent of ARC funds has been to "leverage" other federal, state, and local monies, that is, to provide an impetus for spending in social service areas, but not to replace existing funds or serve as a permanent source of support. ARC dollars can be used to match other federal dollars (such as Title XX money), and can be allocated without regard to income (Tracy & Pizzo, 1977).

The ARC is not allowed to provide funds to non-highway projects for longer than a five-year period. Section 202 of the Act requires that annual grants be reduced by 10% so that termination of funds is gradual, allowing local or state replacement of ARC dollars. This section of the Act was scheduled to expire in 1977, thus cutting off all ARC support for child development programs. However, in response to

Table 8

FEDERAL/STATE POLICIES AND PROGRAM RESPONSES

YEAR	EARLY INTERVENTION PROGRAM RESPONSES
1974	- Hickory County submits proposal for carry-over Title I funds to establish EIP. Proposal funded; EIP staff hired (Title I, 100%).
1975	- Year II Title I proposal submitted to SEA. Parent Advisory Council formed at request of SEA, proposal funded (Title I, 100%).
	- ESEA Title III proposal submitted to USOE for supplemental funds to expand EIP to 120 children. Proposal not accepted -- project description was too general to measure effects of program.
1976	- ARC and Title XX proposals submitted and accepted. No Title I proposal submitted. Local share included for first time (ARC, 18%; Title XX, 75%; Local, 7%).
	- Program was two months late in starting due to difficulties in recruiting children that meet Title XX guidelines. No parent advisory council required under Title XX.
1977	- Hickory County decides not to apply for Title XX funds again -- too much paperwork, eligibility guidelines too narrow, conflicts over policies with local welfare office.
	- $3,000 carry-over ARC funds returned to state due to under-enrollment caused by Title XX.
	- Year IV Title I and ARC proposals submitted and approved (ARC, 28%, Title I, 57%, Local, 15%). SEA requests reestablishment of Parent Advisory Council.
1978	- Year V Title I and ARC proposals submitted and approved (ARC, 24%, Title I, 51%, Local, 25%).
	FEDERAL AND STATE POLICIES
1965	- Appalachian Regional Development Act (ARC) enacted.
	- Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA, including Title I) enacted.
1968	- Handicapped Children's Early Education Act (Amendment to ESEA) enacted.
1971	- State rejects continuation of federal funding, adopts urban-based Parent Training Project, Demonstration Model.
1972	- State mandatory Special Education law passed.
	- Head Start Amendments (10% handicap mandate) enacted.
1974	- State avails carry-over Title I funds for Preschool Early Intervention Programs.
	- State passes resolution to encourage replication of Parent Training Project, Demonstration Model.
1975	- Education of All Handicapped Children Act (P.L. 94-142) enacted.
	- Amendments to Social Security Act (Title XX) enacted.
	- State avails carry-over ARC funds for replication of Parent Training Project.
1976	- State Commissioner of Education writes memo terminating Title I funding of Early Intervention Programs within one year.
1977	- Extension granted for ARC funding.
	PARENT TRAINING PROJECT RESPONSES
1975	- Pursuant to state resolution, plans developed for Parent Training Project in Jackson City.
1976	- Jackson City program begins.
1977	- Highland Mental Health Center becomes delegate agency for PTP in Jackson City.
1978	- Initiation of intake appointment process marks the beginning of Parent Training Project in Sabina.
	- Training contract with Public Health Child Development Project initiated to compensate for decreased ARC funding.

pressure from many projects that had not completed their five-year cycle by the end of 1977, Congress extended Section 202 by two years beginning in 1978. This provided short-term relief to projects trying to generate alternative sources of support.

In Hicory County, the EIP has utilized ARC funds since the 1976-77 program year. The first year, the funds were used to match Title XX dollars (75% Title XX, 25% ARC). The initial amount granted ($9,200) has been reduced by 10% in each succeeding year, and the program will be ineligible for ARC support after the 1980-81 program year. When the EIP returned to Title I support in 1977, it continued to draw on ARC dollars. At the same time, the local share contributed by the county school board has increased each year from 7% to 25% of the total budget. The school board does not indicate this share as a separate budget item in its presentation to the county court. Rather, the local share is "buried" within the instructional category. Thus, the increased local share does not come under public scrutiny or debate during the court's budget approval process.

The ARC funding phaseout also presented few problems for the PTP. Although their primary source of support has been through annual ARC grants, the Highland Mental Health Center has identified several possibilities for replacing the lost dollars. The 1979-80 program year will be the final year of eligibility for ARC funds, but the HMHC director believes the program can continue on income generated from a public health training project, by charging fees to parents, and arranging service contracts with area schools. The PTP principal described her project as being "a magnet for funds" within the HMHC, which is facing its own problems with continuing grant support. In late 1977, the principal even predicted an eventual surplus of funds available to the PTP in spite

of the ARC phaseout, because its services were so attractive and necessary. The surplus has not materialized, but the program remains solvent so far. The ability of the HMHC administration to create a mixture of contracts and other funding sources will enable the project to continue so long as the non-ARC sources themselves maintain financial support.

Separation of Title I and special education programs. A second policy area, this one affecting only the EIP, is the regulatory separation of Title I funds and P.L. 94-142 funds. Under the regulations for implementing the Education of All Handicapped Children Act, no child presently receiving Title I services may be counted as handicapped or benefit from services provided under P.L. 94-142. This would appear to be the result of a Congressional intent for Title I to serve economically disadvantaged children and for P.L. 94-142 to serve diagnosed handicapped children.

This policy has raised problems in Hickory County, given its small size and informal organizational structure. The Hickory County School System wished to provide some remedial activities to children in need of special education, and believed the easiest way to do this was to provide those services through the existing Title I program, rather than by creating separate resource rooms with additional staff to serve this small number of children. Eugene Judd asked the State Title I Office if this combined system would be permissible, but the central office, "really didn't answer my question. They didn't say I couldn't do it, but they did say I'd be taking a chance if I did." Mr. Judd's response was to interpret that answer in the negative, and he subsequently sent a memo to all Title I schools ordering them to stop this integration (and economization) of services.

In spite of this incident, Mr. Judd feels that the separation of dollars is advantageous to his programs, as indicated in a letter he wrote to his U.S. senator in 1976, concerning proposed block grant legislation.

> Dear Senator:
>
> After having studied the Block Grant legislation for education proposed by President Ford, I want to express my opposition to the bill as written.
>
> I do this based upon two primary assumptions. First, without a percentage of the funds being earmarked for selected categories in education, it is my feeling that both vocational and the handicapped would absorb most of the funds. This could cause the compensatory education program to become extinct. This would be tragic since the Title I program is causing progressive educational change to take place in America. Then, too, the deprived child would loose (sic) much support and would sink further into sociological and economic failure. As a result more of the population would become a direct burden to the tax-payer by having to be placed on the Welfare rolls or incarcerated in prisons, which are already over-flowing.
>
> The block grant philosophy in itself appears appealing; however, safegards (sic) should be built in to protect those programs which are laying the foundation to America's future.
>
> My position on this matter is non-partisan. It is simply my feeling of what the government should do to protect proven progressive programs that serve the cause of its people. (Italics added)

In an interview with the State Commissioner for Special Education, the issue of Title I and special education was discussed. The Commissioner said that there has been a separation at the state level that has developed over the past couple of years. He believed this is a reflection of federal policies in which there is a great amount of "turfing" between the Title I offices and the Bureau of Education for the Handicapped, and this fragmentation is being felt at the state level. To his knowledge, the State Title I Office has instructed local districts that they may mix Title I and special education money and services if they keep separate accounting systems, i.e., "They're going to have to play

the banjo in order to get the money to do that." He believes that the local systems have not been willing to go through the process of developing separate books, and therefore they have kept the services and children separate. The Commissioner felt that Title I children, whom he referred to as "culturally disadvantaged and economically deprived," could frequently also be labeled "learning disabled," and should thus be counted as eligible for P.L. 94-142 funds.

In a related area, there is some evidence that the implementation of P.L. 94-142 is causing the withdrawal of Title XX funds from programs that serve school-aged handicapped children. In the fall of 1978, the Commissioner of the Department of Human Resources, which oversees Title XX spending in the state, issued a memo forbidding the use of Title XX funds to provide educational services to handicapped children. The rationale provided in the memo was that the state had claimed that 100% of all handicapped children had been identified and were being served as required by state and federal law, thus there was no need to use social service dollars to supplement special educational programs which the state claimed were legally adequate. This decision was likely to affect significantly the non-school based programs in the Highland area which were serving handicapped children with Title XX funds, according to a regional human resources administrator. The issue is now affecting services for school-aged children, but may extend to pre-school children as state and federal laws are more fully implemented with this younger age group. The State Commissioner of Education also recognized the problem, but was not overly concerned about its effects on the preschool handicapped population. "It might have an adverse effect on some programs that are now using Title XX funds to serve these children. But our position has been that we cannot serve younger

children until all the objectives are met for the older children. We don't have the expertise. That's other people's responsibility."

The Title XX 50/50 rule. Title XX of the Social Security Act was implemented in 1975 to consolidate existing social service funding programs. Subsequent regulations included a requirement that monies appropriated under the Act be distributed evenly among families currently receiving public assistance (e.g., AFDC) and those families near the poverty level but not already receiving welfare payments. The former group is called the "income maintenance" (IM) population, and the latter is referred to as "income eligible" (IE).

This requirement is an example of urban-oriented policies that do not fit rural circumstances. In Hickory County in January 1976, there were 71 children 4 years old or younger who were in families receiving AFDC payments. Twenty-nine of these children were 3 or 4 years old. When the EIP decided later that year to apply for a Title XX grant to replace the Title I funds that the Education Commissioner threatened to cut off for preschool programs, they found a major recruitment problem. Because of their policy of no publicity, very few AFDC families were aware of the project. During the previous two years of operation, the EIP served only 18 AFDC families out of a total of 137. The Title XX 50/50 rule required the program to increase the proportion of AFDC families served from 13% to 50% in one year.

In September 1976, the staff began to recruit children for the EIP. Because of the low number of AFDC families, especially in the Ridge area, it was not until December that the program found enough children to begin operation. This long recruitment period led to an immediate conflict over cash flow between the school board and the local Department of Human Resources, which administers Title XX in the county.

Under Title XX state regulations, programs are reimbursed for services after they are delivered. The reimbursement is based on the number of children enrolled each month. Thus, during the time that staff were recruiting, no children were enrolled and staff salaries could not be covered by the Title XX contract. The salaries were paid during the 4-month period by ARC and local dollars. By the end of the program year, the school board had drawn only half of the initial $40,000 contract because of the delay in enrollment.

Additional conflicts between the school board and the Human Resources Office concerned the increased paper work related to verifying family income every few months (Mr. Judd said he was spending 50% of his time on a program that only represented 10% of his budget.) Another conflict grew out of differing personnel policies between the two agencies. The school board did not offer the same sick leave and annual leave benefits required by Human Resources and there was disagreement as to whether EIP staff were school employees or Human Resources employees. Problems also occurred in relation to the children's ages, as the original contract was for services to 3 and 4 year olds. But during the spring, some of the children turned 5. This required the contract to be amended so the program could continue to serve these few children during the last 2 months of the program year.

The EIP teacher, Betty Garrett, requested a transfer to a kindergarten classroom during this period. She described the year as, "one headache after another. Every morning when I woke up, I wondered what problem I'd have to face that day." Mr. Judd talked her out of the transfer by arguing that the kindergarten class would probably itself be closed soon due to declining enrollment. The Ridge site home visitor,

Alma Pritchett, also disliked the arrangements under Title XX. The 50/50 rule was impossible to implement along the Ridge, since most families, though quite poor, are intact. She said, "The people in this area are very poor, but they're also very proud. They need help, but they won't split up their families just to get welfare." She knew of one family where the father lived in the rear of the house so he could make a quick exit when the social worker came by. Alma viewed the social worker assigned by Human Resources to the EIP as insensitive to the culture of the Ridge residents--"She would just go into these people's homes and tell them what to do. That ain't right." Alma said she was always well received in the homes because she minded her own business, and "as long as you mind your own business, the people will mind their own business and they won't bother you." By the end of the year, the Claver program had served 13 AFDC children of the 16 enrolled, while the Ridge program served only 4 AFDC children out of 19. The overall percentage of AFDC children was close to the mandated 50%.

The 50/50 rule also was difficult for a regional child health project to implement. In fact, the project director said it was the biggest problem his project was facing. The home visiting staff was having great difficulty in locating AFDC families. When asked if this was more of a problem in outlying areas than in Jackson City, he replied:

> Even urban centers in this area are really so rural, there's not that much a higher proportion of IM families. It's pretty uniform across the whole region. You know there really is a greater need among the IE population, especially in health. When you go out into the rural areas, you find all these families that are still intact but they're just living on real low incomes. Maybe the father is logging or something like that and only works part of the year and they've got real serious problems. The IM families might live in a housing project or a divorced woman might still be living with her mother, and they don't need the kind of support services that the family does that's trying to make it on its own with very little money and they aren't eligible for any kind of public welfare.

Finally, the Title XX administrator for the Highland Region referred to day care programs in Pike and Winchester Counties as "disasters." He asked:

> Are you familiar with the AFDC rules?
>
> Mallory: Do you mean the 50/50 rule?
>
> Yes (shaking his head). Only about 7% of the children served in these programs are AFDC children. In Pike County they're doing a little bit better,, but this has been a real problem with the Title XX money. Now maybe in Washington or New York or someplace like that, they've got high concentrations of AFDC children, but we just don't have that in the rural areas. It's impossible for us to find them. They just don't live out there.

The implementation of P.L. 94-142. The Education of All Handicapped Children Act, enacted in 1975, mandates educational services for handicapped children beginning at age 3. However, the law provides that state-level special education mandates for preschoolers take precedence over the federal requirements, thus the beginning age for mandatory services in the state studied was 4 years (3 years for deaf children). State and local education agencies were required to be in full compliance with the Act as of September 1978. In an effort to facilitate services for preschool children, an incentive grant of up to $300 per child is available to state education agencies. However, Congressional appropriations have been well below this authorized amount, and only $75 per child was actually available in FY 1979 (Cohen, Semmes, & Guralnick, 1979). This figure is a national average, and in this particular state, the amount available per preschooler was only $30, according to the State Commissioner of Special Education.

Given this small amount of money, it has been difficult to implement the preschool provisions of P.L. 94-142. Although the State Department of Education claims that early childhood education for both handicapped and non-handicapped children is "our number one priority over the next

few years," there was little evidence of a major effort to locate and serve preschool handicapped children in the counties we observed. The State Department is conducting "child find" activities to identify handicapped children in need of special education, but there is little comparable activity at the local level. The state-level outreach efforts have resulted in the identification of 7,000 preschool handicapped children, but the Special Education Commissioner is not "proud of the way the child find has worked out for us. You know there are more than that out there." He said that parents are reluctant to have their children identified as handicapped unless they can be sure that some services will result from the identification. This is particularly a problem for parents of preschoolers who must wait for services for a year or more after identification and labeling. The result is that parents of preschoolers are less likely to initiate the identification and labeling process than parents of school-age children.

Although the Special Education Commissioner stressed the importance of early childhood services, this emphasis was not indicated by the State Education Commissioner. He did not believe that the present trend to serve younger children through public schools was appropriate because of the lack of expertise of school personnel in this area. In referring to the problems of serving the younger age group, he remarked, "You know we can't go in there and just jerk them off their mother's tit."

The paucity of funds available and conflicting signals from the State Department have allowed local education agencies to move slowly in implementing state and federal preschool mandates. The resistance shown by Winchester County and other school systems in serving preschool children was described earlier. Refusal to reimburse parents for transportation costs, counting children enrolled in non-school programs as

served by the schools, and lack of cooperation between schools and other community agencies have already been documented.

The impact of P.L. 94-142 on the EIP has been minimal, since the program serves "delayed" rather than "handicapped" children, and there does not seem to be any intention to seek out and serve more severely delayed or disabled children. The program staff claim parents of severely impaired children are not pressing demands for service, and they believe this is an indication that either such children do not live in the area or their parents do not want them to attend school until they are older, if at all. The self-contained special education class for the county only served one child below 6 in 1978-79.

The Parent Training Project also has not been directly affected by the laws, except in a negative sense in that their attempts to develop cooperative relationships with local schools have been unsuccessful. The Mental Health Center director said there was no interest shown by area schools in developing working arrangements with his agency or with the PTP to meet the preschool mandates. There was no indication that this situation would change in the near future, particularly given the absence of significant pressure from the State Department to come into compliance.

Although it is peripheral to the study of the EIP and the PTP, an analysis of the identification and placement process for handicapped children in Winchester County Schools provides an example of both the way in which the law is being implemented and the method of triangulated perspectives used frequently in this research. In order to get an idea of how placement decisions were made, the county special education supervisor, Mrs. York, was interviewed. She said that a multidisciplinary group (the "M-Team") makes official decisions concerning placement and

services. The M-Team is made up of the building principal, the child's teacher, any resource or special education teachers that work with the child, and herself. Occasionally a psychologist or speech therapist may join the group. And, she said, "Of course, the parents are included too, because the law says the parent has to be involved." She gave the impression that placement decisions only occurred through a formal M-Team meeting made up of several professionals and the parent. Although the team is labeled "multidisciplinary," membership is heavily weighted toward education and psychology (Mrs. York's background is in speech therapy). No medical specialists or social workers are included on the team.

The next interview was with a building principal whose elementary school contains the county's self-contained programs for severely, multiply handicapped children. This school had one PTP graduate in it during 1978-1979. When asked how the M-Team placement process worked at his school, he replied that it operates, "on a very informal basis. Lots of times we just meet in the hallway, or we have to make decisions over the phone." He said that the M-Team consisted of Mrs. York, a classroom teacher, and himself. Often he was unable to attend the meeting because of other demands on his time.

> It's just impossible for me to go to two meetings on each handicapped child in this school. It would mean going to over 300 meetings a year. I just can't do that. I need to spend my time doing some other things, too. So we try to get these things done as best we can.

The principal made no mention of parent involvement in the placement process.

Finally, a special education teacher was asked how the M-Team functioned. She said that the placement process:

> usually means a knock on my door. Somebody will be standing there holding a child by the hand. Sometimes Mrs. York or somebody might call the Friday before they bring the child into the class on Monday, but I almost always have no information before the child gets into the classroom. I've never seen a medical history on any of these children.

She said that she had not participated in any formal M-Team meetings. As far as she knew, there have been no such meetings for any of the children who were placed in her classroom, which is for the most severely impaired children in the county. In addition, she rarely sees the parents of the children prior to placement, and never sees them after placement.

Local program policy making. The preceding section described federal and state-level policies and their effects on the two early intervention programs. It is clear that much of the administrative staff's time is taken up with responding to externally-generated policies over which they have no control. This response may take a number of forms, including full compliance, apparent compliance without meeting the full intent of a policy, ignoring a policy, or actively resisting it. In addition to responding to external policies, the two programs also generated their own policy decisions, partly in response to state and federal policies and partly in response to local circumstances uneffected by higher level policy making. It is this latter type of local policy making that will now be examined. The first issue to be discussed will be the policy responses to the closing of the Ridge EIP program by the regional fire marshall. The second area of local policy making to be reviewed will be the process of replicating the Jackson City Parent Training Project in Sabina.

1. The closing of the Ridge EIP. In December 1977, the regional fire marshall, who happens to live in Claver, inspected the Ridge

Elementary School. The purpose of the inspection was to see whether the EIP site located in the school met the National Life Safety Code. When the Title I director applied to the County Department of Human Resources for an operating license in the third year of operation, the DHR notified the fire marshal of the application and asked him to do a routine inspection prior to granting the license. The site was inspected using the new Day Care Center Standards that had been recently added to the code to cover day care centers serving 12 or more children. Although the EIP is clearly not a day care program, these were the only standards that appeared to be applicable. Two days after the inspection, a letter was sent to Mr. Judd advising him of a dozen fire code violations that would have to be remedied if the program were to continue at that location. Although it was not stated in the letter, Mr. Judd and the fire marshal quickly agreed that the center could stay open for the remainder of the school year to avoid disruption of the program.

Mr. Judd informed the EIP teacher, the superintendent, and the school principal of the notice, but told no one else, and none of these people told their own staffs, the program parents, or the school board about the results of the inspection. Alma Pritchett, the Ridge site home visitor, was aware that the inspection had occurred, but she was puzzled that she heard nothing more about it for 5 months. "Why did it take so long? I thought I'd hear something right away. If we'd known about it sooner, it seems like we could have done something, instead of having to do something at the last minute." The EIP teacher, Betty Garrett, actually was not told of the inspection results until February, but she said that Mr. Judd had given her the impression that it was not a serious problem and it was not clear what the consequences

would be. Thus she chose not to tell her staff of the situation until a second notice was sent to the school board in mid-May.

The initial decision not to announce the inspection results stems from Mr. Judd's and others' desire to keep the project out of public view as much as possible. Mr. Judd and Superintendent Qualls felt that to publicize the issue would cause staff and parents to become upset. Their hope was that the problem would dissipate without any direct action. And it appears that the decision to not appeal the closing or try to keep the site open was made soon after the inspection. The following year's school budget was in the process of preparation throughout the spring, but there was never an attempt to include money for renovations or a new classroom. In addition, the next year's Title I and ARC proposals were being developed and they both provided for only one site in Claver. These proposals were written by Mr. Judd before May when he made public the order to close. Mr. Judd was fearful of bringing the issue before the county court because it might generate questions and debate that would harm the overall project, given the conservative values of court members. He also feared that the issue would come to the State Education Commissioner's attention, thus jeopardizing future funding.

> I just want to keep the status quo going, that's all. As long as the program is still going, that's all I can hope for, at least until we get a new commissioner that favors these programs. I've never tried to publicize the program and make people aware of it. We've always kept a very low profile.

Mr. Judd also was concerned that to make the issue public would generate demand for the program in communities that did not already have the service available.

A second factor in the decision to keep the issue quiet was a general sense of dissatisfaction with the Ridge site. As Mr. Judd said, "This is better anyway." Although he believed that the site was operating smoothly, he felt that the demands placed on Betty Garrett to cover both the Claver and Ridge sites were too great, and monitoring the Ridge site from Claver was too much trouble. The Ridge home visitor, Alma Pritchett, was viewed as competent but in need of supervision. She was not viewed as able to operate the site independently, and Mr. Judd was especially concerned that if she were given responsibility for recruitment, she would try to get her own kin into the program. If the program were to move to another site, such as a local community center, then there would be no building principal to provide daily supervision. "She acts like the director sometimes, because Betty can't always be there, and Betty doesn't like that." Betty confirmed this view when she said that she felt that she had been devoting too much time to the Ridge site because she had to pack and unpack materials to take from Claver once or twice a week, and this caused her to neglect Claver and the two home visitors there. She said that she could do a better job just covering one center.

Mr. Judd wanted to hire a second teacher to supervise the Ridge site, but he said there was no money to do so. Although the total Title I budget for the county is underspent each year by $16,000 to $20,000, Mr. Judd did not suggest that this carry-over budget could be used either to hire a second teacher or to make the required renovations.

The third factor in not responding quickly to the matter is the attitude of those people who live "under the mountain" toward those who live "over" it. Mr. Judd believed that the Ridge people are "different from the people over in this part of the county," i.e., they are

independent and could not be trusted to manage the program without close supervision. Their "differentness" also meant that they would "not say too much" about the closing, and their traditional lack of influence in county politics meant that they would not be able to stop the closing. The Ridge area school board member also said that, "People aren't too active up there," and they would not complain very much about the closing. (This is the same school board member who did not actively campaign for reelection because he got too many phone calls and complaints while in office.)

Yet this negative attitude toward the Ridge did not have to be made public. Mr. Judd and Mr. Qualls both believed that any challenge or protest over the closing should come from the "grassroots." For the school board to appeal the order would create "just too many hassles," and it would be better for the appeal to come from the community and the parents of the children affected. The strategy became one of letting any protest come from the public, not from the school board. This strategy was bound to fail, given the lack of power and organization on the Ridge; it would appear that the people were unconcerned, thus providing the necessary political justification for letting the Ridge site die, which was something that Mr. Judd and others appear to have wanted.

The strategy worked well. The 5-month delay in making the problem known meant that it was too late to amend the project proposals or school budget to keep the center open. And the Ridge community, working with very little information about the issue, was unable to respond. By June, when the matter first was reported in the newspapers, the program was winding down for the summer, the home visitor's position was ending, the elementary school was closing for vacation, and there were no more parent meetings planned.

The first announcement of the problem to the parents was made on the last day of the program as "graduation diplomas" were being passed out to the children and their parents. The principal of the Ridge School, Dillard Crawford, told the parents after the graduation that the fire marshal had ordered major renovations in the classroom that would probably not be feasible. He said that the major problem was time rather than money, in that it was probably too late to get the school board or county court to act before school reopened in the fall. He told the parents that he would present the matter to the school board the next week, and if there were no resolution of the problem, he would call and ask them to attend the next county court meeting. As it turned out, the school board meeting was postponed. Mr. Crawford went on vacation for the summer, and the parents were never contacted about subsequent school board or county court meetings.

After the parents were presented with the issue, one mother immediately spoke up. "Well, where does our wheel tax go? Shouldn't that go to pay for things like this? We have to pay our taxes for the Claver High School, so we should get a program up here. We shouldn't let our taxes go to the other schools." Another parent suggested that they withhold their wheel taxes in the future if the county court did not support the program. Of the seven mothers present, three were upset and vocal about the issue, while the others remained quiet.

Alma Pritchett began to act as a conduit for information between the parents and school officials. She contacted the area school board member, Omar Perkins, a few days after the parents were told of the problem. This was the first time that he became aware of the issue. She also told the parents not to take any action yet and not protest too quickly. She did not want to upset or anger any school or county

officials before it was necessary, and she did not want to be viewed as being overly aggressive.

A few weeks after the parents were informed, Alma said that many of them had contacted her to ask what could be done. She said, "The people don't understand why the school's been closed," and they did not understand why the school board was not being more active in trying to keep it open. This perception of the parents' confusion contradicted the county court representative's and the superintendent's view, who believed that the people in the area understood the problem and knew that the school board and county court had to accept the fire marshal's findings. Alma said that the people did not know what to do, and they did not know where to "put the blame" or focus their protest. She advised caution and restraint, but her sister, who was also a program parent, wanted to "go beat the devil out of all of them." Alma's sister did not know who Omar Perkins was, and neither of them were aware of the school board meetings at which it was decided to close the Ridge site for the following year. At one point, Alma called Mr. Qualls to ask what the parents could do, such as attending a school board meeting, but he told her there was nothing they could do--the matter was up to the board and the parents' input would make no difference. In a subsequent interview one month later, Alma said she had called Omar Perkins several times and he told her he did not know what to do about the problem. She said, "No one seems to know what to do. Nothing's changed. We still don't know why all this happened and we still don't know what to do."

During this period, Betty Garrett played a passive role in the matter. She was unaware of the details of the inspection results, including recommendations for some minor changes in the Claver center.

Betty was resigned to the situation. "Well, that's the way things go. I hope I still have my job next year." She did not become involved in any of the interaction between Alma and the school board, and by late June was assuming that the Ridge site would be closed for at least the coming school year. By June, others such as Mr. Judd and Mr. Qualls were also using the past tense when referring to the Ridge site, as at a Title I parent meeting where Mr. Judd described the EIP site that "we had up on the Ridge."

In the first week of June, the school board held a regular meeting at which the fire marshal's inspection results were presented. The discussion of the issue opened with Superintendent Qualls stating, "The way I see it there's really no choice in the matter. The fire marshal has told us that the classroom is unsafe, and the expense of making the entire building safe would just be way out of line." Omar Perkins asked, "Is there anything we can do? There must be something. It's a good program,especially if it doesn't cost us any money." Mr. Qualls said there was nothing to be done unless an extra portable classroom could be located. There was already a shortage of the portable units in the county, and there were other demands for more classroom space besides the EIP need. No board members other than Mr. Perkins pursued the issue. When a bus driver in the audience, who was there on other business, volunteered information about a community center that might be an alternative site, Mr. Perkins wanted to call the fire marshal immediately to see if the suggested building would pass inspection. While Mr. Judd made the phone call to the fire marshal's home, the board went on to other business, and did not return to the issue until two hours after the call was placed. The fire marshal was unable to

give a definite answer to the question because his records of the community center were in his office. No action was taken by the board that night.

At the next meeting, one week later, the school board voted to close the Ridge site for the coming year. The fire marshal had told the superintendent that the community center was not acceptable (a fact which made the Ridge parents confused and angry, since the building had housed a Head Start class for several years). Omar Perkins was the only board member to vote against the closing and that was done for "political reasons," as an indication to his constituents that he cared, although he said in a private interview that there was no chance for keeping the center open. After the vote to close the center, Mr. Perkins moved to search for a new location for the center, which he also described as a politically motivated gesture. This motion passed unanimously. He later said that he did not know whose responsibility it was to carry out the search, but that he did not feel it was his job.

In later conversations with Mr. Perkins, he said that only one or two parents had contacted him about the closing, and Alma had called him a few times. The major contact with parents occurred in August on election day when he was at the polls and several people questioned him about it. He believed that the program did not remain open because nobody took any leadership in the community. He said the parents had not gotten together to try to keep it going, and the school board, "just kind of neglected that program. Where there's a will, there's a way, and there just wasn't any will to keep that classroom open up on the Ridge. Seems like nobody cared about it."

Odell Gore, the county court representative for the Ridge, was the most active person in trying to resolve the problem. He was in a peculiar

position as a county court member, a member of the court's school budget committee, the father of a child who had attended the Ridge EIP, and an employee of the fire marshal who had inspected the center. He did not protest the closing, nor did he use his position as a court member to influence the school board's decisions. But he did tell Alma Pritchett that he would introduce an amendment to the school budget during a county court meeting to provide funds to reinstate the program. He also began looking for an alternative site, and worked with Alma on this. In private conversations, he listed several possibilities for saving the program, including construction of a separate cinder-block classroom, perhaps using vocational-technical high school students for labor; finding federal funds for construction; and renovating the local Mason's Lodge. However, he did not introduce an amendment to the school budget or make his other suggestions known to anyone else. He has privately pursued the Mason's Lodge possibility,which would involve about $1,000 of plumbing renovations. He is a Mason, and he feels this is a likely alternative for the near future. "I hope we can get that program started up again next year. They just extended that law [ESEA] for another 4 or 5 years and added more money to it, so we should be able to have it."

There was no pressure put on other county officials over the closing. "Not one word" on the matter was heard from parents by the superintendent. The one contact he had with a non-school person was with Odell Gore, and he believed that was because they had once been school classmates, and the inquiry from Mr. Gore was out of "curiosity" rather than questioning the board's actions.

At one point, Mr. Qualls suggested to Mr. Judd that the Ridge children might be bussed down to Claver so the community could continue

to participate. But Mr. Judd rejected the idea because it would be too long to travel for 3 and 4 year olds. When this idea was suggested to Mr. Gore, he agreed that the parents would not want their children on the bus for that length of time.

One alternative never raised would be to maintain just the home visiting component of the project, since the children came into the classroom only every third day. Although this occurred to the observer as a logical compromise that would have kept the program functioning until a new classroom was located, the methodology of the study required that he not intervene in community processes, thus this suggestion was not offered. This became a major ethical dilemma, as it was believed that the idea could have benefited the community, and to withhold a beneficial suggestion might be a harmful act of omission. When the field work was completed, an evaluation report was written for the program which included this suggestion.

By midsummer, it was clear that the program would not be open in the 1978-1979 school year, and its long-term future is also doubtful unless Odell Gore is able to convince others that the Mason's Lodge is feasible and the program should be revived. In July, Mr. Judd commented that the issue had "reached its peak. It won't really hurt the program to close that classroom, at least as far as the size of the program goes." In September, the Claver center opened with one new home visitor and 17 additional children to replace those lost as a result of the Ridge closing. Ironically, Alma Pritchett was re-hired by the Board in the early summer, although she had told them that she would not work in Claver because of the expense of driving across the county. The Board ignored her statement and in June hired her for the

following school year so they would not have to pay her unemployment benefits over the summer months. She was thus forced to officially resign her position in the fall, making her again ineligible for benefits.

2. ...cating the PTP in Sabina. In 1974, the State House of Representatives passed a resolution citing the success of the urban model PTP as an "innovative and effective [program] in training parents to detect and act upon emergency evidence of abnormal behavior in children." The resolution called for the development of a plan for the replication and expansion of the PTP throughout the state. The Department of Mental Health was requested to draw up the expansion plan and submit it for consideration before the budget for the next fiscal year was enacted. Subsequently, the Department developed a plan that would have established a dozen expansion sites in urban and rural areas at a cost of about $250,000. However, the plan was not submitted to the state legislature until after the budget-setting process was completed. thus no money became available to implement it. The result was a comprehensive plan with little hope of realization. As the plan was being finalized, a new governor was elected whose interest in children's services was markedly less than that of his predecessor, and the recession of 1974-1975 was slowing down funding for social services. The result of these circumstances has been a piecemeal expansion effort that by 1979 had implemented about half of the intended expansion sites. Rather than relying on a large contribution from the state legislature, each site has had to develop its own funding sources through local, state, and federal grants.

One of the first expansion sites established was in Jackson City. In 1975, the Department of Mental Health learned of some Appalachian

Regional Commission funds that had not been spent by the end of the fiscal year and were available to child development projects. Based on his contacts in the Highland Region, and because the ARC funds could only be used in certain areas of the state, the PTP expansion director, Paul Alinsky, initiated talks with the Highland Mental Health Center, an area Head Start program, and the state university in Jackson City. The Head Start agency was designated the regional sponsor of the Jackson City Parent Training Project and provided two staff members on a loan basis. A field consultant from the Department of Mental Health supervised the initial implementation of the project until a principal was hired in mid-1976. The first two years of the program were relatively smooth, although enrollment never reached the projected capacity of 30 children (for a more detailed history, see Chapter III).

From the beginning, it was hoped that satellite centers could be established in the remote areas of the Highland Region to serve those families who lived too far away from Jackson City to benefit from the PTP. This second level of expansion or replication was also to occur at the other PTP sites in the state. The first county identified for an expansion site was Hickory County, just to the east of Jackson City. After that site was developed, similar expansion sites were to be created in other counties in the Highland area. At the time that Hickory County was chosen as the initial expansion site, the Early Intervention Program was in its first year of operation. The PTP planners were not then aware of the EIP, and did not make reference to it in the PTP proposal in the section concerning coordination with other programs.

In the summer of 1977, PTP sponsorship shifted from the Head Start agency to the Highland Mental Health Center (HMHC). The HMHC's director

was in his third year, and he was seeking ways to increase services to children and to expand services to outlying towns. The opportunity to become the delegate agency appealed to the director, Charles Simms, and Head Start was having cash flow problems related to the PTP. Because of the administrative role of the Department of Mental Health, and because the other PTP replication sites in the state were under mental health center sponsorship, the shift seemed logical and desirable from most perspectives. The only person who expressed reservations about its consequences was the PTP principal, who was concerned that the HMHC might have priorities and policy practices that differed from the original model or that departed from the goals of her own program. Her concerns focused on a loss of authority over the program's operations that she feared would occur under the new sponsorship. She also expressed concern that Dr. Simms would not be sympathetic to the central role played by parents in delivering services.

After HMHC assumed sponsorship, concrete plans began to be developed to establish an expansion or satellite center for the PTP. The HMHC already had three outreach counseling centers operating and intended to open up more in the near future. It seemed most efficient to locate the new PTP site in a town that had an outreach center, partly because the community would therefore have some familiarity with the HMHC, and partly because the new center would be easier to supervise. It is for these reasons that the site that was eventually chosen was in Sabina, where a full-time HMHC staff member was operating an outpatient clinic, rather than Hickory County, which at that point did not have any HMHC outreach services.

Plans for staffing the new center were a potential point of conflict between Dr. Simms and the principal, Linda Davidson. In a private

interview that took place just before the change in sponsorship, Dr. Simms indicated that he would like to staff the proposed expansion site with public health nurses, perhaps by buying some time from the nurses involved in a regional child health project for handicapped and delayed children. Yet in an interview with Linda Davidson on the same day, she said that the proposed site would be staffed by parents who had completed the PTP and who were meeting their 6-month obligation to train other parents. Neither person was aware then of the other's staffing plans for the Sabina center.

During the fall and winter of 1977, plans evolved for the Sabina site. Most of the decision making took place at the HMHC and the Jackson City site, with very little activity in Sabina itself. There was no deliberate attempt to inform other Sabina agencies of the planned expansion, and there was no advance public announcement of the pending service. The outreach mental health worker in Sabina helped the principal locate a possible site in a Church of Christ, but he had no other involvement in the planning or implementation process.

During the winter, one of the two original staff people in Jackson City was fired by Ms. Davidson due to prolonged absences and difficulties in letting parents assume responsibility for teaching. Ms. Davidson asked Sally Bean, a PTP parent in her second year with the project, if she would be interested in the vacancy. Ms. Bean was employed by the phone company at the time, but she quickly applied for the position. When she was hired, it was with the understanding that she would be responsible for developing the Sabina program. Although Dr. Simms had "some reservations" about her because she was "not one of the outstanding parents in the program" and he did not know if she would be "independent enough to carry it off," he felt the need to get the

site going and agreed to let her try it. Several months after she was hired, he said that she had "blossomed," and he was pleased with the job she was doing.

Although the staffing issue was resolved to both people's satisfaction, the tension between Ms. Davidson and Dr. Simms continued. He began to complain that she was dragging her feet in developing the Sabina site, and she began to press for a significant salary increase to compensate for responsibilities related to getting the expansion site off the ground and for conducting weekly training sessions with the staff of the regional child health project. The salary request became a major point of contention, and Ms. Davidson began talking about resigning in order to go to graduate shcool. No increase was offered to placate her, and by midsummer, she left the program. As mentioned earlier, no replacement was hired for 5 months, and Sally Bean was left to develop Sabina on her own. She did receive support from Nellie Flatt, the other staff person in Jackson City, and from the Department of Mental Health field consultant who visited Sabina weekly and provided support in a parallel fashion to her involvement in the early stages of the Jackson City project.

The administration of the Sabina site remained at the HMHC in Jackson City. The Sabina outreach mental health counselor referred some families who he knew personally to the new program, but was otherwise not involved in its development. He was unaware of the funding mechanisms for the project, did not know that ARC monies were soon to be terminated, was not involved in placement or treatment decisions, and generally spent "a very small percentage" of his time on matters relating to the program. He did not object to his lack of involvement

and seemed to prefer that the administration of the program be centralized and out of his hands.

Sally Bean was also comfortable with the centralized administration and did not try to create a working relationship with the outreach counselor. She commuted from Jackson City to Sabina twice weekly to run the site, but spent very little time in the community establishing contacts with other agencies or publicizing the program. As was the case in Jackson City, she deliberately limited the initial enrollment to a very few families. The limited enrollment continued for the first year of operation, and did not show signs of change at the end of that time.

The field consultant, Alice Banfield, was somewhat concerned about the low enrollment, but felt that the Sabina site had successfully replicated the design of the PTP model. In other words, although the program was only service three or four families, it was true to the original model, and that seemed to be a more important criterion for success than the number of families served. Lack of public awareness, transportation problems, and the heavy demands made on parent's time were acknowledged as factors in continuing low enrollment, but allegience to the original model meant that the program could not be modified to resolve these problems. Ms. Banfield described the Sabina site as a "non-program," and said, "If I were an observer, I wouldn't be impressed." She felt that the program was stagnant, and needed to expand soon or risk being terminated by the HMHC administration, and she suspected that the delay in hiring a principal might indicate a conscious neglect by Dr. Simms that would eventually lead to closing the program. Yet her recognition of these problems and their causes did not lead her to taking an active role in finding solutions. Again, as someone allied to the

program since its inception, she struck us as more concerned with the replication of the model than with providing an accessible and appropriate service that could adapt to community needs.

These two illustrations of the local policy making process offer opposite ends of the continuum of program development. One program was closed, but due to a lack of information on how to challenge the closing and suggest alternatives, the community response was limited to expressions of frustration and resigned acceptance. The other program observed was in the process of opening, but a low level of program-community integration and a lack of community awareness about the program kept it from moving beyond the initial stages of development. In both cases, a centralized administration made decisions affecting outlying communities with very little input from the communities themselves. And, no one suggested possible alternatives that might have avoided total shutdown in the first case or rigidly adhering to a model at the expense of program growth in the second.

Program-Family Interaction

The fourth and final area of findings is concerned with how the two programs interacted with parents of children being served. Some aspects of parent-program interaction have already been discussed, such as the use of parents as teachers in the Parent Training Program. The focus here will be on: (a) the role of parents as decision makers in the programs, and (b) the goals that parents have for their children as a result of their participation in the programs. These two issues are central to the implementation of early intervention programs as many federal social policies now mandate that parents be

given some policy making powers; and the values and expectations of parents have been recognized as a significant influence in the outcome of such programs (Dokecki, Strain, Bernal, Brown, & Robinson, 1975).

1. Decision making roles for parents. Because the Hickory County Early Intervention Program receives most of its funding under Title I of the ESEA, it is required to have a parent advisory council that participates in program development, policy making and evaluation (P.L. 95-561, Sec. 125). In the EIP, there were two levels of parent councils. First, each group of families had their own meetings which generally focused on the progress of children in the program, fund-raising, and other matters specific to each group. These groups, made up of 4 to 10 regular participants, met three to six times per year, and elected representatives to the second council, which was program-wide. It is the program-wide council that is given advisory authority in the ESEA legislation, and it will be discribed here.

The Program Advisory Council met two to four times a year during the first four years of operation. (There was no council during the third year because the funding source that year, Title XX, did not mandate parent involvement.) The Council meetings generally included a presentation by Eugene Judd or Betty Garrett, discussion of future program plans, and a social activity. Superintent Qualls spoke at a few of the meetings, and at the last meeting of each year the parents were shown profiles of the changes their children made on the LAP between September and May. Parents have not been involved in decisions around budget setting, hiring staff, evaluating the program, or closing the Ridge site. The areas in which they were active concerned efforts to get more parents to volunteer in the classroom, purchasing equipment,

moving lunch from the elementary school to the program site, and the need to hold more frequent parent meetings. Usually only the first and last Council meeting of the year included discussions of program policy. The first parent meeting, in September or October, was used to elect officers for the Council, and the last often included some recommendations for the next year's program, such as moving the location of lunch. At one year-end meeting observed, the primary activity was passing out charts to parents that listed the number of home visits made during the year, the number of miles driven by home visitors, the number of free meals served by the program, the number of parent meetings held, and the number of parents volunteering in the classroom. There was no accompanying narrative interpretation of this information, and the parents did not appear to find the tables especially interesting or useful. They were much more interested in the profiles of their own children's progress, and discussed these among themselves and with the staff for about a half an hour. They were allowed to keep the summative tables, but had to return the profiles to the staff.

Any meetings that occurred during the program year were more likely to involve a social event such as a Halloween or Christmas party, making puppets for the classroom, or putting on a skit. Attendance at the meetings varied, but usually consisted of five or six mothers and one or two fathers. Social activities were much better attended than either the initial or year-end meetings. All the Council meetings were held in Claver, and fewer Ridge parents came to the meetings than Claver parents.

Betty Garrett said that there were:

> no set guidelines, not definite, on how many parent meetings to have. That's never been decided. We decided on our own to have them once a month and for special occasions.

Mallory: Have you had them once a month?

Betty: Well, now this year 1977-78 they've been less. We have not had as many parent meetings this year as we had, because to me it takes more time to plan a parent meeting than anything else. You have a classroom and that takes time, but when you plan for parents to come in, I think you should plan . . . something special or not ask them in. We always try to have something to offer them. Have you ever seen . . . the classroom on wheels in Bryer? That's an awfully good parent workshop for parent participation. We visited it the second year and we've always patterned some of our workshops after that program.

Mallory: What kinds of things do they do with the parents?

Betty: They just have games, educational games, that tell you how to discipline the child and how to help your child in reading and just about every aspect--numbers booklets they give out, color booklets, booklets on zoo animals. They do little skits with parents. Like at Halloween time they do a skit with the parents having false faces on and . . .talk about fears of children.

Although the Council is intended to give parents an opportunity to air grievances or criticisms about the program, there is no evidence that any dissatisfaction was expressed at the meetings. The minutes of one meeting contained the statement, "All members present appeared very happy with the Title I program." The minutes of another meeting declared that, "No gripes or complaints were presented." A letter from Mr. Judd to the Council chairman which spelled out complaint procedures as required by the State Department of Education included the assessment that, "It is my feeling that there are no complaints." However, minutes from Council meetings in the fourth program year indicate a growing desire on the part of parents to be better informed about their advisory role. In one meeting, the parents asked that guidelines for parent involvement be distributed at the beginning of the year. They also asked for more frequent reports on their children's progress and for child care to be provided during meetings.

Some parents appeared to want an active role in decisions that affected the program. This was especially true for the Ridge parents when they learned that their center was to be closed. Several of these parents contacted Alma Pritchett to ask what could be done to stop the closing. Alma's sister summed up their feelings by saying, "Just tell us what to do. We'll do whatever we have to." Alma said that the parents would, "work just as hard as they can" to keep the center open, even though by the time they were made aware of the problem the program had ended for the summer.

> Mallory: Do you think it's going to be hard to get them involved now that their kids are out of the program?
>
> Alma: No. Some of them will come down and work just as hard for it because they want other people's children--it's not only just their child they're worried about, they're worried about other kids, too. They know what it's done for theirs, and they know what it can do for others.

But Alma's assessment was contradicted by Dillard Crawford, the Ridge Elementary School principal, when he described the attitude of the parents of school-age children. He said that the parents did not want to be involved in school activities and did not support their children's interest in school. He said that the eighth graders who had just graduated would rather be in school than at home during the summer. "There's nothing to do at home, and their parents don't show any interest in them during the day while they're not in school." These differing assessments of parental support are probably due to the different ages of the children involved and to the closer contact between the EIP and the parents facilitated by the home visits.

In an unstructured interview with the chairman of the Advisory Council, it was clear that he and other parents felt a desire to support the program actively but were unaware of how to do so. The chairman,

Willie Grover, drove a city water department truck, and the interview took place over a one-hour period one afternoon as he drove around the county on water department business. He said that he was elected chairman because he was the only man present at the first meeting of the year and therefore he had the job. He stressed repeatedly that he did not know much about the program, and he was sorry that he could not provide more information. He also said that he did not know anything about the Advisory Council, except that it had met four times that year. "Usually they have a speaker come in, or there's some report on the progress of the program." He believed that the parents were not aware of how to support the program, although they would be willing to do something if given a specific task. He said that the parents were very supportive, and if they were to be asked, they would say that it was a good program and that they had benefited from it. During the interview, he conveyed a sense of embarrassment that he did not know more about the Council so he could answer questions better, and he also seemed frustrated that his and the other parents' positive feelings toward the program were not being utilized.

The Parent Training Program did not have any external mandates to give parents an advisory or policy making role. There were attempts to hold regular parent meetings, but these decreased from weekly to less than monthly over the first three years of the project. In the early stages of the program, monthly meetings were held with Charlie Simms and with Dr. Cooke. But after the first year, these meetings stopped. Nellie Flatt, the staff person with the project since its inception, did not know why the meetings had stopped. During the third year, Sally Bean and Nellie asked Dr. Simms to attend a parent meeting to discuss

family problems related to raising a handicapped child. Sally said that when she invited him to the meeting, "He didn't seem real interested, but he said he'd come."

When Nellie was asked if there were any advisory committee or parent group that made program decisions, she replied, "Well, there's supposed to be an evaluation committee, but Linda [the principal] never did get it going." Further inquiry revealed that this was a sensitive issue, and that several people related to the program were critical of Linda's inability to organize the evaluation committee. The first attempts to establish the committee began in the fall of 1976 at a parent meeting at which two parents were chosen as representatives to the proposed committee. However, nothing further was done until 5 months later when the two parents withdrew their names, and two more parents were nominated. Community representatives, including the pediatrician, a university professor, and a Knights of Columbus member, were solicited for membership over the following 3 months. Then the second pair of program parents decided they did not want to be on the committee, and two more were chosen. By this time, the central PTP office was beginning to put some pressure on the Jackson City program to get an evaluation committee functioning. Soon after, the pediatrician said that he would be unable to serve due to time pressures. Finally, in March 1978, after a year and a half of organizing, the committee held its first and only meeting (as of mid-1979). Below are the minutes of that meeting as recorded by Linda Davidson:

> Evaluation Committee Minutes, March 30 - 12:00-1:00
>
> The discussion focused on two main points: structure of the committee and the tasks to be undertaken.

It was decided that formalizing the structure would be delayed until after the committee members had worked together for awhile, i.e., selection of a Chairperson would take place later.

Linda Davidson explained the importance of the committee, and emphasized that while there was no formalized "power," the influence of the committee was considerable, since they represent the community and the consumers.

Dr. Wilson expressed a desire to see the program in operation, and it was agreed that this would be done prior to the following meeting to be held during the week of April 17, 1978. Since members were unsure of their schedules, the specific meeting date is to be arranged the first of that week. [Meeting did not take place.]

It was decided that the agenda of the next meeting would consist primarily of a survey of possible tasks to be done and selection of a short list of priorities.

In conversations with Linda Davidson during 1977 and 1978, she indicated that a primary motivating factor in her attempts to organize the evaluation committee was to protect the PTP as it came under the sponsorship of the Highland Mental Health Center. She believed that it was important both for her own security and that of the program to have a support system with community links if the integrity of the program were to be maintained. She said that she wanted to have an evaluation mechanism in place prior to the change in sponsorship so that the HMHC could not impose its own evaluation criteria. Underlying these stated reasons was her continuing conflict with the HMHC administration. As she became firmer in the decision to leave her position by mid-1978, she spent less energy on organizing the committee, perhaps because the need for protection decreased as she realized that her leaving would make the motivating factor moot.

Throughout the inquiry into this issue, there was no evidence that parents were pushing to get the committee going or that they were interested in any other advisory or policy making role. Although the

EIP parents in Hickory County were relatively uninvolved in program policy making, they expressed a desire to contribute in some way to the support of the program. In contrast, the PTP parents did not express those desires and were content to play a passive role in program development and evaluation. This may be due to: (a) the natural cohesion of the EIP parents, many of whom were neighbors and kin prior to their involvement in the project as compared to the PTP parents who were spread across several counties; and (b) the fact that EIP children were not handicapped, and therefore did not produce the degree of child-related stress faced by PTP parents, who had numerous outside demands in addition to their daily program involvement.

2. Programs' and parents' goals for children. Any evaluation of early intervention programs should include an assessment of the programs' success in meeting goals for individual children. Most evaluations have been based on goals developed by the program staff, and usually these goals are concerned with cognitive and affective changes produced as a result of program participation. For example, in the most recent EIP proposal, the objective of the program was to produce one month of average gain on the LAP for every month of instruction, and 85% of the children were expected to reach that criterion. (This one-for-one goal raises the question as to whether the program was intended to compensate for educational delays, as the Title I legislation prescribes, or whether the program was intended to maintain the already delayed status of the child. The staff would argue that the former is their goal, yet the proposal objective is not compensatory in the usual sense.) As a measurement of the program's effect, Mr. Judd compiles annually an aggregate profile of child gains and uses this as the sole indicator of success. An example of such a profile is

presented in Table 9. This profile is distributed to parents, school board members, and the State Title I Office and is viewed by Mr. Judd as meeting the regulatory requirements for program evaluation. However, the program does implicitly recognize the existence of non-cognitive goals, because the reasons for accepting children are frequently related to social circumstances as well as the LAP pre-test results.

In conversations with EIP staff, the importance of working with parents was often emphasized. Below are some excerpts from those conversations.

> Mallory: If you had to say, I know you don't really think about this--but if you had to say which was more important, changing the child or changing the parent, what would you say?
>
> Betty: I don't know. I don't think I would say the child, because if you change a child but so often that may slip away but yet if you can change that parent, that can change their whole family. It could change the way they help the older one read. It'd be hard to say but I imagine the parent.
>
> Mallory: What should programs like this do to help families?
>
> Betty: I think we'll have to do more teaching to the parents to help their child in everyday situations. It's not just sitting down for 2-3 hours a night with a 3-year-old child, but how to teach your child while you're doing the bathtub and the dishes and the floors and folding the clothes. What all could he learn from throwaway cartons, without spending a lot of money, cause you don't have money, nobody's going to spend a lot of money on teaching your 3-year-old child. Educational toys for a 3-year-old child? [laugh] But throwaway items, they might.
>
> Alma: You know I've had more people say that to me, that I've made more believers out of those parents. "You mean a 3-year-old child can do that? They can't do that." It just shocked the britches off them when they do.
>
> Mallory: But you've turned them around?
>
> Alma: A lot of them. There's still some out there that says that but not that many.

In the interview/truck ride with Willie Grover, he said that when he was a child growing up on a farm, there were no other children to

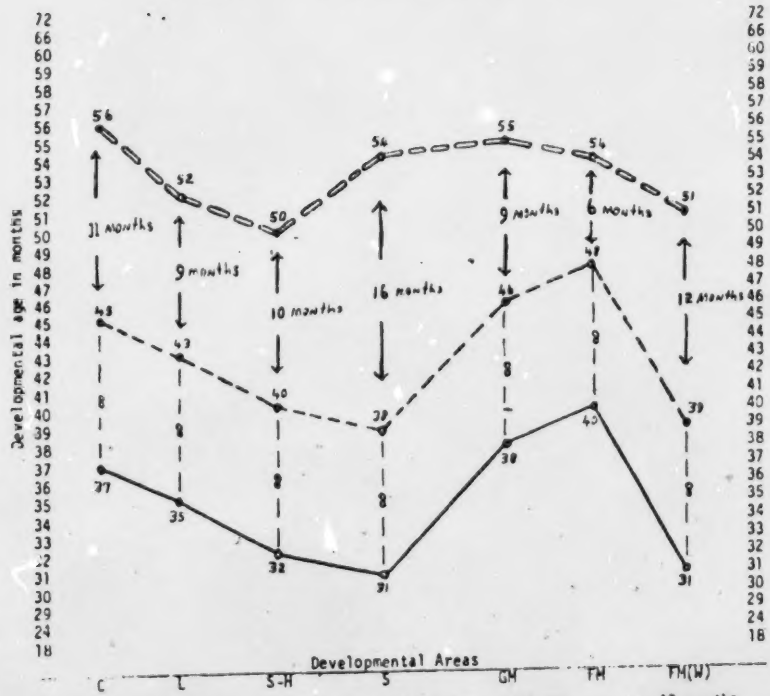
TABLE 9

AVERAGE CHANGES IN LAP SCORES

LEARNING ACCOMPLISHMENT PROFILE (LAP) ADMINISTERED TO 28 THREE AND FOUR YEAR OLD CHILDREN THAT PARTICIPATED FOR ONE YEAR IN THE PROJECT

PROFILE DEFINITIONS

C= Cognitive
S-H= Self Help
S= Social
GM= Gross Motor
FM= Fine Motor
FM(W)= Fine Motor (Writing)
L= Language



Performance level according to pre test October, 1975--Average age 43 months

Maximum performance level anticipated after adding eight months natural growth to pre-test level.

Performance level according to post test May, 1976--Average age 51 months

play with, and "that affects how you get along with people later in your life." For Willie, the opportunity for social interaction with other children was the most important aspect of the program.

The program has a brief form that is filled out by the screening committee after it decides to accept a child, and the form includes a statement concerning reason for acceptance. Below is a representative verbatim list of the reasons for acceptance indicated on the screening committee's form. These comments are drawn from the first 4 years of operation.

- 5 in this family; low income
- 3 older brothers, all low achievers. 2 dropped out at 7th grade and the other was socially promoted to 4th grade, at 14 years of age.
- low income [This was the sole reason listed on many of the forms.]
- number in family; health problem
- doesn't play with others. Seems socially maladjusted
- father is ill and doesn't work
- father disabled
- child is withdrawn; shy
- I have visited the home. It is very substandard.
- eye problem
- seems to have a slight hearing and speech problem
- child can't talk plain; parents are divorced
- very shy; parents divorced
- poor living conditions
- receives food stamps
- needs to be with other children
- very shy and backward
- parents are divorced. Child is extremely overweight. His living conditions are extremely poor.

- not completely potty trained. Don't have anyone to play with.
- very unruly; low income
- very withdrawn
- child stays with grandmother while mother works

Clearly the program intends to intervene in the social lives of the children as well as in their cognitive development. During the first year of operation, the objectives for the home visits included statements such as, "To teach parents manners," and,"To help make Christmas more meaningful to the families we reach." Identical objectives for the home visits were listed for all families in the files examined, and this was especially true in the first couple of years. Very little attempt has been made to individualize either parent or child objectives. The program's goals thus appear to be to bring the parents and children into more socially acceptable lifestyles or to remediate deviant cognitive and social patterns by focusing on families that are divorced or low income.

But what are the parents' goals for their children? Because of the traditional parental authority over child-rearing for preschool-aged children, it is also important to assess what it is the parents wish to occur as a result of their children's participation. There was one attempt to get parent feedback on the changes they observed in their children after the first year of the program. An analysis was made of the parents' written comments in response to the statement, "Please use rest of this sheet to tell us what you think this programs means to you and your child." The analysis revealed that an equal number (13 each) of parents referred to socialization with peers and improvement in mother-child interaction as the most important areas of change. A lesser number (8) referred to improvement in cognitive skills, and a few (5)

cited school readiness and behavior improvement. Below are several samples of the parents' comments which were frequently written in the presence of a home visitor.

- This program meant so much to Donna and me it helped me to let go of Donna and to understand her wants and needs for her more. It has helped her to not be scared of people and other children. It doesn't bother her to leave me so bad anymore.
- He has learned his numbers and his colors. He has learned to do things for himself.
- She has took interest in books and minds Better.
- It helps me to work with my child. It has ideas I wouldn't have thought of.
- It is very good for 5-year-olds who will start to school by my idea the 3-year old are too young.
- This program gives the child and parent something to talk about which gives the child a superior feeling. It gave my child more self-confidence.
- I think this Program has help my child to get along with other children that helped a lot I fell it has Ben good for my child it helped me to explanie thongs to her Better.
- It helps him adujust to Be awaye home.
- We have more thing to do to geather.

In the summer of 1978, two questions were added to the program application form for the benefit of this study. This was done to assess parents' goals for their children and to make comparisons with those assessments listed above from 3 years earlier. The responses to the questions were quite similar in their socialization emphasis to the earlier responses, but the wording of the responses generally indicated a better educated, more articulate group of parents than those involved in the first year. This finding is congruent with the higher income level families that were served in the fourth and fifth program years (see earlier section on program-community interaction). Below

are samples of written responses to the question, "What do you think should be the main purpose of this program? What is the most important part of the program?"

- To learn to be separated from his mother some.

- The main purpose, to me, is for small children to learn to get along as a part of a group, to learn to share with others, and act more independent. It should also teach some basic skills, such as colors, shapes, hand work, etc. But, mostly I would like it to just make my child aware of being a separate person from me.

- To get the child more ready for kindergarten. Being able to associate with children and teachers.

- I think the main purpose of this program is to get the pre-schooler use to being away from home while under supervision of another adult besides the parent. Geting your child in a school with other children so that they will feel comfortable with learning.

- The children should be taught to interrelate to each other and learn to get along with each other.

- I think the main purpose of this program is to help prepare younger children for school. The most important part I think is to find out what children might have special problems early so that they can be helped to overcome them.

- The main purpose of this program would be to get the child ready for school. This will enable him to have a general idea of what will be expected of him. This will let him learn more at an early age for a more intelligent person in the future.

In the Parent Training Program, there is a much greater degree of individual goal-setting for the children and mothers in comparison to the EIP. Because the basic criterion for admission is the parents' assessment of a behavioral or developmental problem, then much weight is given to parents' goals for their own children. Frequently, goals are related to increasing a child's compliance with adult requests to perform a task or improve a skill through practice. Observed changes in behavior become the measurement of treatment effects, as opposed to performance on a norm-referenced test. Parents are involved in deciding

how much change is necessary before a criterion is reached, and sometimes their assessment of change differs with that of the principal and staff. For example, one mother believed that her partially blind and retarded son was improving significantly, to the point of being ready to go to a less restrictive setting. She felt that further work in the PTP was not necessary, and the child would continue to develop without specific intervention. The principal and staff did not believe he was improving much at all, but also recognized that the mother's attitude would keep them from being effective for much longer. Thus, they recommended that the child move out of the PTP into a self-contained special education classroom in a nearby county school system.

Conversely, another mother whose severely retarded daughter had been in the PTP for 8 months felt that no improvement had occurred, although the staff was encouraged by some changes in gross motor development and receptive language. The mother only brought the child in two or three times a week because of the 100-mile round trip drive and because of other family demands. She explained that she had to go to numerous appointments with physicians, school personnel, and others just to manage services for her child, and she was considering institutionalizing her child so that she could give more time to her son and husband. But she believed that she would be criticized by her small community if she "gave up" and sent the child away. Part of the stress she was experiencing was also related to her mother-in-law who lived next door and often told her that she was pushing the child too hard. From the staff's perspective, the mother was not coming very often because of the pressure from her mother-in-law and fear that the child could not improve--she once told the other PTP parents, "At least you have something to look forward to." But from her perspective, she could not come

in more often because of all the managerial tasks related to locating and coordinating services for her child. This tension led to a divergence of goals, in that the staff believed that small, incremental goals in one or two areas of sensori-motor development were most appropriate, while the mother wanted quicker, broader improvement in language and cognitive abilities. Because her goals were so broad and long-range, the mother was easily discouraged at the short-range progress she observed, which in turn made her consider institutionalization, a choice that could have relieved internal family stress while producing a negative community response.

The tension between staff definition of a problem and parental definition of a problem is not easily resolved, but the assertion that, "If the parents say the child has a problem, then it's a problem," becomes hollow if the staff's assessment and goals attempt to override that of the parents. Perhaps it would be better to recognize that the parents' definition of a problem could be a problem itself, and the staff may need to devote some time to understanding how the parents come to their assessment and then explaining alternative perspectives on the child's status. The skills of the staff now lie more in the area of child-related treatment and are not as strong in parent counseling. Some training in the latter area would be helpful in resolution of the tensions generated by assessment and goal-setting.

To summarize, there were two aspects of program implementation that emerged from analysis of the findings. First, the integration of the programs into their community milieux was considered. The process of integration was demonstrated to be a reciprocal phenomenon in which programs respond to community structures and needs and those structures and needs are influenced by program implementation. The integration process

is tempered by the perceived role that early intervention programs have in rural communities, the values placed on such programs by local decision makers and consumers, and the organizational relationships of the programs to other social support systems.

The second aspect of implementation which emerged was the interactive relationship between the programs and their community context, the policy making process, and the participating families. Within these thematic categories, the findings were analyzed with respect to the influences of situated definitions of "handicapped," the recruitment and assessment of eligible children, the flow of referrals into the programs, responses to federal and local policy making, the decision-making roles of parents, and goals for children expressed by staff and parents. Although there were considerable operational differences in these areas between the two programs observed, the end results appeared quite similar. Both the EIP and PTP demonstrated low levels of integration, lack of cooperative relationships with other educational and social support systems, deviation from initial purposes embodied in regulations and program prototypes, and the primacy of staff priorities over parent goals.

These findings may be interpreted as negative statements which imply that the programs are not functioning well or are not meeting their objectives. Yet such an interpretation is too limited. In fact, the programs are relatively stable and entrenched after 5 years of operation. The tension between idiosyncratic child development needs and global community structures has resulted in a dynamic process of adaptation. In general, this adaptation has led to a molding of the programs to meet community-wide social and political priorities rather than remediating individual child and family needs. The outcome has been

a shift in target population in one case and continuing low enrollment in the other. The next chapter will present a series of formal hypotheses to explain these findings.

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS: IMPLICATIONS FOR EVALUATION METHODOLOGY AND POLICY MAKING

There were two purposes for conducting this study. First, from a social change perspective, the study is intended to sensitize policy makers, program planners, educators, and administrators to the community variables that affect early intervention programs as they are operationalized in rural regions. Second, from a social science perspective, the study is intended to provide a substantive theory that offers a conceptual and organizational structure in which method and emergent hypotheses can be joined to (a) explain how a researcher may qualitatively examine individual and community behavior to (b) understand organizational response in order to (c) evaluate the implementation of early intervention programs.

To achieve the second purpose, three different approaches were joined to construct the design of the research. These include a phenomenological perspective based on theories of symbolic interaction and the sociology of knowledge, an organizational perspective based on theories of formal organizational behavior, and a policy perspective based on implementation and evaluation paradigms. The first two perspectives are related conceptually--both are necessary for answering the guiding questions posed in Chapter I. The third perspective is more an interpretive area because there is no unifying theory to guide investigation. The melding of these three perspectives has led to a model of the influence of community context on the process of program implementation. Community context has been shown to be

a mediator of external forces (i.e., state and federal policies) as centrally-defined programs adapt to local needs, regardless of the congruence of those local needs with intended central purposes.

This study has not tested predetermined hypotheses in order to measure the variance attributable to preconceived factors operating in the community. Rather, the study has been concerned with identifying potential macrovariables and their relationship to each other. Thus the study ends where more traditional research begins--with a statement of hypothetical relationships among variables. These variables were discovered in the field, and the hypotheses generated in the course of their discovery are meant to open new avenues for research. The generated hypotheses are stated in measurable terms in the hope that others will apply both quantitative and qualitative methodologies to confirm, expand, or modify them. Glaser and Strauss (1967) use the term "emerging hypotheses" to describe the concluding statements found below, but for this study these are no longer emerging. They represent the realities that were encountered during the field work. However, they are emerging in the sense that other research may accumulate to lend support or cast doubt on them. The use of qualitative methodology for evaluation purposes is quite recent, and, as such, the early stages of research, of which this study is an example, must be seen as a time of definition and clarification.

This study is similar to other investigations of social change programs in its inductive approach to theory building. As is the case in much social change research, theory development follows practice. In this sense, the knowledge generated by such research is literally grounded in the everyday realities of implementing social change programs.

Cohen (1975) summarizes this characteristic of social policy research:

> The nature of social services tends to defeat experimental learning. The character of knowledge in education makes it difficult to devise solid measures of success or failure. And learning about social policy generally seems to involve a movement from practice to theory--a backward progression from what appear to be self-evident ideas about social problems and remedies, through perplexing program results, to ever more fundamental inquiries about program assumptions and society. (pp. 168-9)

Generated Hypotheses

An hypothesis is a statement which synthesizes interpretations of observed phenomena to come to an ordered understanding of their interrelationships. Such a postulate is capable of being validated or negated through intersubjective consensus.

The hypotheses discussed below are presented in hierarchical order, from an overarching statement about the distribution of knowledge to more particular statements about service delivery and resource allocation. The hypotheses are those for which there is strong support in the findings and which are capable of further investigation. They are intended to apply to rural communities implementing early intervention programs and related services, but they should be tested in other settings with other social policies in order to make them more robust and to elevate their theoretical implications from substantive to formal constructs.

Hypothesis I--Distribution of Knowledge

Administration of early intervention programs is accomplished largely through the controlled distribution of special knowledge about the program to the staff, participating families, local political structures, and the general public.

"Special knowledge" includes information about budget-setting, state and federal regulations, requirements for parent participation,

local policy decisions that have bearing on the program, eligibility requirements, and similar information necessary for problem solving. In controlling the distribution of this knowledge, program administrators act as a filter to determine what kind and how much information should be released, who will have access to it, and when it will be made available. Decisions as to the distribution of information are made privately by one or two people who have ready access to technical or non-public information by virtue of their status as experts, administrators, or elected officials. These people decide when it is in the best interests of the program (and their own status) to make private knowledge public. Their concerns are generally focused on the broader political consequences of releasing information rather than on program-specific consequences.

Examples from the findings related to this hypothesis include: the lack of knowledge Ridge parents had access to concerning the closing of their center; the conscious decision not to use news media to inform the community about the EIP; the narrow range of information made available to the Parent Advisory Committee in the EIP; the lack of information available to the PTP staff about hiring a new principal; and the generally low level of communication between the sponsoring mental health agency and the PTP. The result of these patterns of information control is a perpetuation of hierarchical organizational structures based on top-down policy making and characterized by an emphasis on means over ends. Regardless of statements about the intended redistribution of knowledge and power found in federal anti-poverty and education legislation, and regardless of local expressions of support for participation and democratic problem solving, the ideal remains a public image while business is conducted privately and unilaterally.

Hypothesis II--Locus of Control

The more centralized is program administration, the less the program will be responsive to traditional or changing community needs, and the integration of the program with the existing network of community services will be reduced.

The concept of "centralized administration" refers here to the physical and social distance between program administrators and those who participate in the program. Administrators work at various levels, including offices in county seats, regional offices in population centers such as Jackson City, state department offices in the capital, and federal agencies in Washington. As the distance between participant and administrative level increases, sensitivity to local needs and circumstances decreases. And as programs are required to respond to distant directives relating to goals, design, and target population, their ability to adapt themselves to the local network of services is hindered.

This was evident in the continuing inability of the PTP to recruit and enroll enough families to meet their funded capacity. Allegiance to the original urban model limited the program to serving families with non-working mothers who had their own transportation and who could accept the operant techniques required by the model. As well, the mental health administration was committed to a treatment model that paralleled its own therapeutic services, thus limiting services to behavior-change objectives rather than addressing more comprehensive developmental needs. In Sabina, although there was a local mental health office, the site's administration was based in the main office in Jackson City, and the integration of the project into the community was

quite weak. The replication process was complete in that both the positive and negative qualities of the Jackson City site were transferred to Sabina.

The EIP's administration was centralized in the School Board building in Claver. This limited the program's ability to adapt to the special needs of those who lived over the mountain, resulting in a conscious but non-public neglect of the Ridge School and the Ridge EIP. Again, a lack of publicity and little interaction with other early intervention efforts (especially Head Start) resulted from the desire to maintain centralized control over the program. Lack of confidence in Alma Pritchett's ability to operate the Ridge site without direct supervision, fears that she would "just get her own kin in the program," and Mr. Judd's desire to centralize all operations led to the complete shut down of the site rather than any exploration of alternative solutions. In addition, the administration's decision to serve a higher income group of families has resulted in the program enrolling families with non-working mothers, which may not be congruent with changing economic and employment patterns in the county.

Hypothesis III--Local Response to External Policies

Federal early intervention policies (especially those that provide funding) will be adapted by local political structures to meet local needs for (a) control over program operation and determination of evaluation criteria, and (b) community support.

Because the language of goals, design, and evaluation is quite vague for federally-funded early intervention programs, there is a good deal of slack to be taken up by local decision makers. This slack allows the development of local program design and evaluation criteria that will

meet the needs of decision makers regardless of the ability of this local design to make real changes in children's development and regardless of the validity or measurability of the evaluation criteria. There is very little state and federal monitoring of local programs to see that they are meeting intended objectives. The modification of initial goals and design by local officials may occur either through overt, conscious acts, as in the decision to serve a higher income group, or through passive, unintended reactions to community circumstances, as in the PTP finding itself serving a wide range of handicapped children rather than just those who are "oppositional." In the former case, planned change was a result of the need to serve families who would provide political support to the program. In the latter case, unplanned chnage represented some accommodation to existing needs which confronted the program. If the program had not responded to that unanticipated need, there would have been little support for its continuation.

In the EIP, although the LAP had been prescribed initially by the State Department of Education, its use was not mandatory after the first year. The decision to continue using it as an evaluation tool was based on its expediency, simple interpretation, and usefulness for showing aggregate profiles of children's improvements. Its lack of validity, the use of biased testers, and inappropriate scoring were not seen as problems in terms of "proving" that the program made a difference. The need for community support, especially due to fears that state support was about to end, was the determining factor in using the LAP. In contrast, the PTP had no evaluation system, primarily because local political support was not necessary, at least not until ARC funds expire.

As those funds end, and as the Mental Health Center increases its control over the program, efforts to develop an evaluation system are beginning.

Hypothesis IV--Identification of the Eligible Population

Early intervention programs will serve those children and families who (a) are more politically powerful and/or vocal; (b) may be other than those for whom such programs are intended, especially where the intended population is the most vulnerable to developmental harm, (c) most easily adapt to the local design of the program in terms of family form and cultural values, and (d) are most accessible.

This hypothesis is a more specific version of the preceding one. Here the focus is on how the situated meanings of labels such as "handicapped," "educationally deprived," "disadvantaged," "delayed," etc. become accepted as subjective realities by those who apply the labels to determine who should be enrolled. Bogdan's (1976) findings in a review of the handicapped mandate in Head Start parallel our findings in the EIP's interpretation of Title I criteria.

> As the mandate passed into the world of commonsense understandings, its intent was lost or transformed in a complex process by which people discern, order, and reorder their own worlds. . . .
>
> The findings provide a clear illustration of how requiring an organization to serve specific "types" of clients makes those types more precious commodities, heightens competition for them and increases official occurrence rates. When an organization is required to recruit and count particular "types" of clients, there is a tendency for its personnel to broaden definitions so as to make more people eligible. (p. 234)

This phenomenon was especially evident in the determination of eligibility for the EIP, where virtually all children who applied were found to be significantly delayed by the program staff. Yet the determination of a delay did not generate special educational procedures aimed at individual

children's needs. Rather, the desires of both parents and staff to socialize the children and prepare them for school expectations led to a readiness-oriented curriculum rather than individual treatment plans.

The EIP also only served families who did not require day care services. In fact, the use of day care was seen by the staff as a sign of parental failure, appropriate only for the "lazy" and morally weak (i.e., divorced) families who enrolled their children in Head Start. By the same token, the value that "any child whose mother works is deprived," was often a determining factor in the EIP's determination of "educational deprivation."

Both programs (and the area Head Start program) only served those families that were most accessible or who had their own means of transportation. The Head Start program had a policy of not serving children beyond a 10-mile radius of their centers, thus excluding children who live in the most sparsely populated areas. The PTP did not provide transportation but supported two families who requested mileage payments from their local school boards. The EIP provided transportation on the days children came into the center, but did not serve children outside of the villages and towns in the county. This was not a matter of policy, but was the result of the word-of-mouth recruitment system that the program relied on. In general, programs that were exclusively center-based provided the least amount of transportation, while those that were both center- and home-based provided a greater amount.

Hypothesis V--Service Delivery Systems

Regardless of intended goals, centrally funded/locally administered programs are conducted so that program design is determined by perceived program needs rather than perceived client needs.

The two programs observed were designed so that families had to adapt to program format rather than having the programs adapt to meet family circumstances. In the PTP, parents either had to attend the center every day and carry out the prescribed operant training techniques or not make use of the services. In Sabina, the center was only open two days a week because that was all the staff time that was available, not because that was all that children and parents required in the way of services. At both sites, treatment programs focused on changes in compliance with adult demands regardless of the child's primary handicapping condition because that was how the original model worked. The different population being served by the replication project did not result in different treatment approaches.

In the EIP, the Ridge site closed and remained closed because it was beneficial to the program's administration to maintain only one centrally-located site. The demand (and apparent need) for the service persisted on the Ridge, but this was not a sufficient reason to pursue ways to keep the program going. This event, in conjunction with the higher income families being served, acted as a "gatekeeper" to early educational opportunities for those most in need of the program. The administration, through these policies, was able to shift its efforts to families that were less likely to require formal assistance in their child rearing functions and at the same time assure that the families who traditionally did not have access to educational opportunities remained in a disadvantaged status relative to the general population.

This is ironic given the intent of Title I legislation to redistribute educational resources to meet "the special educational needs of children of low-income families" (P.L. 89-10), but consistent with the notion that allocation of scarce resources is seldom to the advantage of the have-nots.

Hypothesis VI--Local Resource Allocation

The local allocation of early intervention resources is determined by political and economic factors in those communities eligible for the resources rather than by an assessed need for such services.

This was particularly true for the under the mountain/over the mountain tension observed in Hickory Coutny. Laural Ridge was devalued by those who lived in Claver. The Ridge residents were viewed as uncooperative, prone to complaining, and "rough." There was a common belief among those who lived under the mountain that the Ridge people did not pay their share of the county wheel tax, and this belief was lent some truth by the statements of Ridge people who expressed an unwillingness to pay their taxes if they did not receive a greater share of highway and education appropriations. As well, the Ridge had a reputation for uncooperative and inconsistent school board members. The Ridge School was used as "punishment" for teachers from other parts of the county who were judged to be performing poorly or were having conflicts with administrators or School Board members. The Ridge had little political clout and had no industry to contribute to the general tax base. These factors combined with the desires for centralization and a non-controversial public image to result in the administrative consensus to allow the Ridge EIP to close.

In the PTP, the decision to open an expansion site is Sabina is related to the political and economic support that Pike County had given

to the Highland Mental Health Center. The presence of a strong voluntary association to support the regional mental health center's efforts and the commitment of the county judge to social services for children and families led to the choice of Sabina as the expansion site. Prior to the expansion, no needs assessment was done in any of the region's counties to determine where the greatest need (or demand) existed for PTP services, thus the decision was based on factors such as the accessibility of the town from Jackson City, the presence of a mental health center outreach office, and the anticipated donation of $200,000 by the voluntary group toward the construction of a mental health facility.

Hypothesis VII--Integration into Service Networks

There is no difference in degree of program-community integration between programs under public school sponsorship and those under private non-profit sponsorship.

Although the two programs evaluated had different patterns of integration with existing service systems and political structures, there was little difference in the degree of integration. The EIP was a part of the public school system, and had good relationships with school administrators. But the lack of publicity, avoidance of public discussion about the program, and the absence of cooperative relationships with Head Start and other regional early intervention programs resulted in a low level of integration. Major decision makers were for the most part unaware of the program. Health care and social service providers interacted with the program concerning selection of children, but had little involvement otherwise. The PTP, located in a state uni-

versity and sponsored by the Highland Mental Health Center, had some interaction with Head Start and regional health care providers, but had poor relationships with the county school system. At an administrative level, there were ties with welfare and health departments, but those ties rarely affected the children and families enrolled in the program. These findings are congruent with the Kirschner Report (1970) which surveyed the impact of Head Start programs on local communities and found no difference in effect of Head Start on other service systems if the program was sponsored by a public school or by a non-profit community action agency.

Overall Conclusions

These hypotheses lead to an explanatory paradigm of the implementation of early intervention programs in rural communities. First, top-down policy making is characterized by the control of special knowledge about a program through selective distribution of information to staff, parents, elected officials, and the general public. This places local decision makers, staff, and parents in a reactive or reflexive position in terms of their ability to determine the goals, design, and evaluation criteria for a program. The lack of opportunity to play an integral part in policy making is balanced somewhat by the lack of monitoring experienced by the programs. These factors generate a vacuum in which there is little specific information available but where there is some slack that can be taken up through local adaption of centrally-conceived objectives. This process of adaptation is guided by indigenous political, economic, and cultural values more than by the particular needs of the population intended to benefit from the services. Adaptation is both an active and reactive process in that some decisions

are conscious efforts to modify a program to bring it more into line with community charateristics while other decisions are in response to external circumstances such as changing government policies or economic conditions. This results in the apparent subversion of centrally-designed and funded social policies so that they conform to local circumstances regardless of original intent. In sum, centrally-controlled implementation (including setting of goals and evaluation criteria) is not successful (in these two cases) in assuring the replication of a specific program model aimed at a narrowly-defined population.

This finding is congruent with earlier qualitative community studies. In Springdale, Vidich and Bensman (1958) observed similar patterns of local response to central policy making:

> The belief and illusion of local independence and self-determination prevent a recognition of the central place of national and state institutions in local affairs. The reality of outside institutional dominance to which the town must respond is given only subliminal, pragmatic recognition. The community simply adjusts to mechanisms which are seen only dimly and rarely understood. Even the successful are successful primarily in accomodating to these factors rather than in initiating independent action. (p. 292)

In the present study, the people observed held fewer illusions about their degree of independence than did the Springdalers. They knew well that their own individual and collective destinies were subject to forces beyond their daily lives and beyond their own communities. Yet, the integrating and stabilizing forces of family and neighbors created enough local independence and autonomy to sustain the sense of self-worth and belongingness necessary for coping in an increasingly urban technical society.

Implications for Evaluation Methodology

There has been an inherent tension in the methodology of this study between the empathic, intersubjective nature of participant observation and the normative objective approach of evaluation. This tension has been useful in creating a balanced perspective that asked both, "What is going on here?", and "How can it be improved or made more functional?" During the period of field work when data were being gathered, there was a conscious attempt not to influence the course of events as they occurred naturally. But at the end of the research, there has been opportunity for open discussion and feedback with the staffs of the two programs. In the process of developing new hypotheses, information has been generated that is useful for local and national policy making. The broad, open focus of participant observation has been narrowed or bounded by evaluative questions.

The use of participant observation as an evaluative tool does limit the kind of information produced. Because of the interdependent relationship between theories of symbolic interraction, the sociology of knowledge, and participant observation methodology, the nature of the data collected is limited to contextual and social interaction variables. Information about individual changes in children's development, cost-benefit ratios, and other summative concerns is not produced by this approach. This is problematic given current notions about "accountability" and policy making. Most program development and evaluation has been bound to the military mentality that asks how big a bang do we get with our bucks. But the use of qualitative methodologies, which focus on processual, formative variables, has begun to offer new ways of conceptualizing evaluation. Qualitative approaches view evaluation as a

continuous attempt to understand how a program is working, what the intended and unintended consequences of the program are, how the program interacts with its broader community context, and what the social functions of the program are. Through a sustained process of observation and participation, the researcher can uncover private knowledge and personal world-views that influence the process and products of social change programs. The result is a grounded, inductive understanding of the effects of social variables on program implementation.

This emerging conception of evaluation must be supported in the future. Inappropriate reliance on only one approach to evaluation leads to incomplete knowledge for policy making. The traditional quantitative approaches now should be complemented by qualitative designs. Qualitative work is a prerequisite to quantitative research, thus the two should be carried out in a sequential (or at least parallel) manner. The result of combining the two strategies should not be a sloppy eclectism but a more coherent synthesis of everyday knowledge with abstract theoretical constructs. Educational and social change evaluators should receive support and training for carrying out long-term, field based studies with a focus on the ecology of program implementation. Such studies can be expensive because of the amount of time necessary for observation and participation and because multiple observers enhance the intersubjective validity of the findings. But the expense will produce useful, policy relevant information. In addition to support for academic researchers, local education agencies and social service programs should be provided training and technical assistance to conduct formative self-evaluations. Local groups also need assistance in administering and interpreting standardized assessments of children, carrying out community-wide needs assessments, developing referral systems

between agencies, contracting with outside experts to do useful evaluations, and involving parents and community representatives in program evaluation. These recommendations imply the need for a shift in the roles of state and federal monitors who have focused too narrowly on the appearance of regulatory compliance. Such monitors must be prepared to serve as field consultants to demonstration programs by assisting staff in evaluation and program improvement efforts.

Implications for Early Intervention Policy Making

The findings and the above discussion of needed changes in evaluation design indicate the need for new approaches to implementing early intervention policies and programs. Throughout this report the tension between centralized policy making and decentralized administration has been a major concern. The need for a central mechanism to redistribute public funds in order to reduce social and economic inequities is still present. Past efforts at redistribution have been incremental and minimally effective. There remain too many undereducated members of the society, many of whom are rural residents. They are constantly at risk for becoming a member of the organizationally surplus population (Farber, 1968), a status that carries no social or political value. It is our collective responsibility to see that opportunities are maximized for these groups, to assure open access to those opportunities, and to assure that the result of that access is an improved quality of life.

By the same token, we must seek new ways to decentralize program implementation, administration, and evaluation. These should be viewed as transactional processes in which there is an attempt to meet national

redistributive objectives while local circumstances are respected. The tendency of local officials to subvert global central objectives must be recognized, and the reasons for that subversion must be understood. To ignore this phenomenon, or to try to create "local-proof" legislation will not solve the dilemma. Rather, there is needed a new model for program implementation.

To build this new model, we must conceive of policy making and evaluation as a two-way process. Before a policy or program is developed, there should be a "pre-implementation phase" in which goals, design, and evaluation criteria are established. This phase would include opportunities for direct input by potential service providers and recipients into two areas. First, an examination and explication of regional cultural values must occur in order to determine the congruence of the proposed policy with familial and community-wide patterns. It should be the responsibility of local residents to conduct a "cultural assessment" and identify the consequences of its findings for policy implementation. The survey should address such issues as attitudes toward state intervention, the expressed value of education, the roles of parents and others in child rearing, religious beliefs, educational aspirations and expectations, community response to disabled or deviant persons, and the roles of informal kin and voluntary support systems in child development. Second, a local or regional government agency should provide some assessment of major social indicators prior to implementation. This would include demographic information on the groups that will potentially benefit from a policy, such as family size and form, employment patterns, presence of extended family, and migration patterns. As well, economic indicators of the local tax base and availability of

local contributions to a program should be developed. Other areas to include in this survey might be a description of local decision making processes, a brief history of previous educational and social change efforts, assessment of indigenous staff characteristics, and an overview of the existing social service network. Most of these are areas in which there already exists a data base to draw from. The problem has been that the presentation of this information in a proposal rarely influences central policy making and evaluation. There remains the need for a useful pre-implementation ecological assessment that has direct bearing on the delivery of services at the local level. This is also an area in which a state or federal monitor could act more as a consultant and resource and less as an auditor.

Beyond the creation of a pre-implementation assessment that allows for direct local input into planning, there is a continuing need to help state and local education agencies comply with mandates to provide free appropriate public education for all handicapped children. Sanctions for non-compliance should be used after a reasonable period of time (e.g., five years), but punitive sanctions should only follow a period of sufficient funding to implement the mandates and after technical assistance has been provided to help systems comply. One key to helping local systems would be the creation of regional liaison personnel who could disseminate information, negotiate cooperative arrangements between agencies, channel referrals, and coordinate community assessment and planning activities. The regional child development specialist described in Chapter II is one model for this role.

Finally, the early intervention service delivery system needs several refinements in order to better meet the needs of rural families with handicapped children. The guiding principle of rural early intervention programs should be to provide what Weller (1965) calls "personalization of services." When services are personalized, they are congruent with the essential "capacity for relatedness" (Looff, 1971, p. 57) that is a central trait of Appalachian families. This capacity is based on the cultural importance of ascribed characteristics such as family ties and place of residence. The tendency to look out first for one's own provides a natural support system that should be exploited in the program implementation process. Looff (1971) writes:

> The implications for the mental health field of this capaicty for relatedness should not be underestimated. All forms of mental health intervention (treatment) involve the giving and the taking of help in an interpersonal context. In my experience, and that of others, the relationship capacities of Eastern Kentucky families are very real indeed, and these capacities are not dimmed by the families' migration to other settings. Presumably, then, those who work in any helping capacity with Eastern Kentucky families, either locally or in other settings, will find mutual relationship a powerful working tool and thrust. When Weller and others refer to "personalization of services," they are talking primarily about this capacity for relatedness. After relationships are established, services can then be brought into focus. (pp. 57-8)

In this study, the importance of family ties has been seen in the determination of who receives services, who is hired or fired, and how the programs are publicized. A greater reliance on personal relationships was observed in the more rural communities. We must translate this sensitivity to the need for personalized services into practice. For example, it was obvious early in the research that the EIP was serving many families who had kinship ties. The first reaction was to criticize this practice as being discriminatory against needy families who

were not part of the network of participants. That may be the case, but to regulate against the practice as an "equitable" solution would be futile. Rather, an alternative that capitalizes on personal relationships is necessary. One strategy would be to identify some number of eligible families with delayed or handicapped children, and then ask those families who they know that has a similar need for support. The first set of families would become the primary service recipients, with training provided to them so they can in turn provide support to related families. Perhaps each of the "core" families would be responsible for helping two or three "secondary recipient families," and the core families would either receive free services or be compensated for training the others. In this way services are distributed more widely while personal relationships are recognized, enhanced, and made part of the program design.

The characteristics of early intervention professionals also must be considered. Looff (1971) suggests that indigenous public health nurses be the primary service providers for rural families with young children. The lack of stigma attached to public health nurses, their personal knowledge of the region and its families, their sensitivity to local values, and their preventive orientation make them a good choice. We have seen that mental health workers carry some stigma in rural communities, and education professionals either claim that they lack competence to work with preschool children or shape their services into school-like programs that do not meet the comprehensive needs of families and young children. In contrast, the public health nurse role is a legitimate, non-threatening, and broadly conceived approach. It is a role already being used in many rural programs, but it needs to be recognized and strengthened through public policies.

One issue that has raised numerous questions in this study is the identification and labeling of handicapped or at-risk children. Many of the problems associated with identification and labeling are related to categorical, exceptionalistic policies for children who are "educationally deprived," "culturally disadvantaged," or simply "low income." Developmental needs are confounded with socioeconomic status. Although there are correlations between the two, their interchangeability in child development policies has been confusing and unproductive. Families with children with similar special needs should not have to go to different services because they are not of the same income group. Hobbs (1975) has proposed a needs-based classification system that addresses developmental status rather than gross categories of exceptionality or economic deprivation. Such a system would generate a truer picture of children's needs and would help reduce the inappropriate placement of children in segregated, dead-end programs. One consequence of a needs-based system would be the universal provision of services without the categorical entanglements now creating so much confusion in Title I and special education programs. One caveat is in order here. Developmental need is not the same as academic need. Preschool children require comprehensive support in areas of cognitive, affective, social and physical growth. Simply providing verbal and numerical skills and training classroom-specific behaviors does not constitute developmental support.

These recommendations are generally stated and do not resolve basic questions of centralization, resource distribution, and the proper relationship between government and families. These are issues that must continue to be examined by social researchers, policy analysts, and concerned lay citizens. Any such examination must take

into account the ecological variables that affect policy development and implementation. This will lead to a deeper understanding of the particular characteristics of communities and the relation of those local characteristics to national goals.

We cannot expect policy makers to be inherently sensitive to the particular needs of local communities, especially in rural regions. The days of Joe Evins, Estes Kefauver, and other powerful rural politicians are over. Urban politics now dominate the Congress, drawing attention away from the continuing plight of Appalachians and other rural citizens who remain "yesterday's people." Academics and bureaucrats must seek out ways to inform policy makers of the needs of rural people. To do so requires first-hand knowledge of the circumstances of their lives. As the public health nurse in Hickory County said, "Some of those people must just sit on concrete all day. They just don't understand what's happening here in the community. They need to come down here and spend some time with us if they're going to really understand what's going on."

EPILOGUE

In May of 1979, as this report was in its final stages of completion, one last visit was made to the Highland Region. The purpose of the trip was to find out what changes, if any, had occurred in the two programs since they were observed 6 months earlier.

In general, the Early Intervention Program in Hickory County was continuing in the same direction as it had been for the past year. It appeared that the Ridge site was closed permanently, as next year's proposals are limited to the Claver site, and no further activity to locate a new Ridge site was taking place. The program was continuing to serve middle-income families. The eligibility criteria were being tightened to require a significant delay on the LAP in four out of five developmental areas, rather than the previous three out of five. This change was due in part to Mr. Judd's concern that the program would be audited by federal officials during the next year. A few of the issues discussed during interviews with Mr. Judd, Betty Garrett, and Dillard Crawford are listed below:

1. FY 1979 ended with a $35,000 carry-over balance in the total Title I budget. This amount will go to next year's operation, along with an anticipated 9% overall budget increase resulting from increased federal appropriations.

2. The Hickory County School Board is now operating on funds "borrowed" against the budgets for the next two or three years. The County Court refused to appropriate supplemental funds for the Board to finish

this year without going into a deficit. It was predicted that a 100% tax increase would be necessary to maintain current levels of operation, yet it was very doubful that the Court would allow any tax increase. As the ARC funds for the EIP expire over the next two years, it was questionable whether the Court would replace that lost revene with local funds.

3. Any additional monies available to the EIP as a result of the carry-over or 9% increase would be used to renovate the van used to bring the children into the center.

4. There are now "40-some" children on the waiting list for next year's program.

5. Seventy-five percent of the mothers in this year's EIP are non-working.

6. Odell Gore had lost his job in the regional fire marshal's office because the office was shut down under the newly elected administration. He was recuperating from back surgery and unemployed at the time of the visit, and was no longer pushing to reopen the Ridge site.

7. Alma Pritchett was still substituting at the Ridge Elementary School due to the hiring freeze that kept her from taking a job with the regional child health project. She had also resumed taking courses toward a bachelor's degree and teacher certification.

8. The new School Board member for the Ridge had created a public furor when he tried to fire a tenured teacher. It was reported that police officers had to protect him during and after Board meetings. He was forced to resign his job as a direct result of his unpopular stand, and had difficulty in finding another one. Mr. Crawford said, "We're counting the days until the next election. Anybody would be

better than him. He doesn't know how to keep out of things he shouldn't be involved in." This Board member is the third one to represent the Ridge in three years.

In Winchester and Pike Counties, the Parent Training Program is on an upswing after a year of stagnation. The new principal was taking positive steps to increase enrollment. The Mental Health Center had requested that the PTP begin a late afternoon program for working mothers. Seven new families had enrolled in Jackson City since January; three of these were attending the afternoon sessions. There were no additional families in Sabina. The evaluation committee was being resurrected, largely to protect the program, in its last year of ARC eligibility, from any major re-design by the Mental Health Center as their cost share increased substantially. To assure the continuing commitment of parents after their children leave the program (in order to pay back for the treatment provided), the Mental Health Center had ordered that parents be assessed $35 per day for treatment at the end of a child's enrollment, volunteer for six months, or pay some of the costs and volunteer for the balance of the amount. In addition, parents were being charged $1.50 to $2.00 per day for a "maintenance fee" to help cover operating costs. Below are some additional items discussed during the visit:

1. The Knights of Columbus is donating about $850 to the PTP this year.

2. In Sabina, the project was scheduled to move into a newly-constructed satellite mental health center when it is completed this year. The principal was concerned that location in the center could result in some stigmatization of the PTP as a program for mentally ill children.

3. New referral sources and support networks had been identified by the principal. The speech and hearing clinic, the two pediatricians (Dr. Cooke had a new partner), and Head Start were all making referrals. The schools and the mental health center still had not made any referrals to the program. A Church of God in Pike County had agreed to provide $6 a week to one family so they could afford the gas to attend the Sabina site.

4. The possibility of collaboration through dual enrollment was being explored with a new early intervention service for retarded infants and toddlers in Sabina.

In sum, the EIP was continuing the trends observed over the previous year. With severe financial problems facing the county (all but a handful of the county's highway workers had been laid off) and with the pervasive lack of concern for those who live over the mountain, the program appeared to be in a position of trying to hold its own without drawing any public attention. In contrast, the Parent Training Program was coming out of a period of uncertainty and lack of leadership. It was in the process of implementing some changes that will move it further away from the original urban model by coming under greater control of the Mental Health Center. Enrollment had increased somewhat, but there was still no progress in developing a working relationship with the local schools.

What does the future hold for the Highland Region? The next decade will certainly be marked by an intensified debate over the funding of social support programs. The economy of the region will continue to expand, and urbanization will proceed in county seats while population and political power continue to decline in the very rural areas. Although tax bases will keep expanding, inflation and increased demand for services will keep school budgets at a minimum level, and each tax increase

will be hard-fought and inadequate. Pressure on families to keep two parents working will continue and possibly increase. Family size will remain small, and the role of extended families as a support system in raising children will continue to fade out. Although there will be some efforts to get schools to serve younger children, especially those with handicaps, the schools will maintain their stance of passive resistance for both cultural and economic reasons. County seats and other population centers will see an increasing number of handicapped children as more families move from outlying areas into towns and cities. And migration will occur both from rural areas into the towns and from large urban centers outside the region into the small cities. The heterogeneity and sophistication of the population in the towns and cities will increase, creating stresses on schools, housing patterns, and social services. Middle-income families will continue to object to paying taxes for services for which they are not eligible and demand that they, too, receive the benefits of social service programs.

In sum, change will be incremental. Rural communities will maintain stable populations while towns grow at a faster pace. The resource gap between urban and rural regions will narrow somewhat, but not enough to indicate any real shift in the distribution of power. Services for children with special needs and their families will continue to be low priority items, and will be developed only when there is demand from politically significant segments of the population and where there is some personal leadership and commitment within a legitimate public institution to respond to the demand.

REFERENCE NOTES

1. Stufflebeam, D. L. Evaluation as enlightenment for decision making. An address delivered at the Working Conference on Assessment Theory., Sarasota, Florida, January 1968.

2. Dokecki, P. R. Early intervention programs for potentially retarded children: Views of the innovators. Paper presented at the Fourth International Congress for the Scientific Study of Mental Deficiency, Washington, D.C., August 26, 1976.

3. Kreitlow, B. W. & Butterfield, P. G. A restudy of the acceptance of educational programs in rural Wisconsin. Department of Agriculture/Extension Education, University of Wisconsin at Madison, April 1966. (ED 020 824)

4. Sanford, A. R. Learning accomplishment profile. Chapel Hill: Training Outreach Project, 1973.

REFERENCES

Albizu-Miranda, C. The successful retardate. Puerto Rican Division of Vocational Rehabilitation, Hato Rey, Puerto Rico, Vocational Rehabilitation Division/DHEW, Washington, D.C., March 1966. (ED 027 650)

Becker, H. S. Sociological work: Method and substance. Chicago: Aldine, 1970.

Berger, P. L., & Luckmann, T. The social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1967.

Bloom, B. S. Stability and change in human characteristics. New York: Wiley, 1964.

Blumer, H. Symbolic interactionism: Perspective and method. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1969.

Bogdan, R. Participant observation in organizational settings. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1972.

Bogdan, R. National policy and situated meaning: The case of Head Start and the handicapped. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1976, 46, 229-235.

Bogdan, R., & Taylor, S. An introduction to qualitative research methods, New York: Wiley, 1975.

Breathitt, E. T. Creating a demand for education in rural areas. The Bulletin of the NASSP, 1969, 53, 130-141.

Briscoe, M. E., & Archambo, J. P. Rural child care project, 1967-1968 research evaluation: Final report. Kentucky Child Welfare Research Foundation, Inc., Frankfort, Kentucky, 1969. (ED 031-356)

Bronfenbrenner, U. Developmental research, public policy, and the ecology of childhood. Child Development, 1974, 45(1), 1-5.

Bruyn, S. T. The human perspective in sociology: The methodology of participant observation. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1966.

Cahnman, W. J. (Ed.). Ferdinand Tönnies: A new evaluation, essays, and documents. Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1973.

Caldwell, B. The rationale for early intervention. Exceptional Children, 1970, 36, 717-726.

Caudill, H. M. Night comes to the Cumberlands: A biography of a depressed area. Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1962.

Cicarelli, V. G. The impact of Head Start: An evaluation of the effects of Head Start on children's cognitive and affective development. Westinghouse Learning Corporation and Ohio State University. Washington, D. C.: Office of Economic Opportunity, June 1969.

Clarke, A. M., & Clarke, A. D. B. Early experience: Myth and evidence. London: Open Books, 1976.

Cohen, D. K. The value of social experiments. In A. M. Rivlin & M. P. Timpane (Eds.), Planned variation in education; Should we give up or try harder? Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution, 1975, pp. 147-169.

Cohen, S., Semmes, M., & Guralnick, M. J. Public Law 94-142 and the education of preschool handicapped children. Exceptional Children, 1979, 45, 279-285.

Corwin, K. G. A sociology of education. New York: Appleton-Century-Croffs, 1965.

Denzin, N. K. The research act; A theoretical introduction to sociological methods. Chicago: Aldine, 1970.

Deutscher, I. Toward avoiding the goal trap in evaluation research. In F. G. Caro (Ed.), Readings in evaluation research, 2nd ed. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1977, pp. 221-238.

Dietrich, T. S. Florida's urbanized rural population: Implications for planning. Governmental Research Bulletin (Florida State University), 1971, 8(3), n.p.

Dokecki, P. R., Strain, B. A., Bernal, J., Brown, C., & Robinson, M. E. Low-income and minority groups. In N. Hobbs (Ed.), Issues in the classification of children, Vol. 1. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1975.

Education Commission of the States. Early childhood development: Alternatives for program implementation in the states. A report of of the ECS Task Force on Early Childhood Education, Denver: ECS, June 1971.

Erikson, K. T. Everything in its path; Destruction of community in the Buffalo Creek flood. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1976.

Farber, B. Mental retardation: Its social context and social consequences. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1968.

Farber, B., & Lewis, M. Compensatory education and social justice. Peabody Journal of Education, 1972, 49, 85-96.

Ford, T. R. (Ed.). The southern Appalachian region: A survey. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1962.

Gehlen, F. L. The political aspects of small towns and rural schools. New Mexico State University, University Park, New Mexico, May 1969. (ED 030 502)

Gerrard, N. L. Churches of the stationary poor in southern Appalachia. In J. D. Photiadis & H. K. Schwarzweller (Eds.), Change in rural Appalachia; Implications for action programs. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971, pp. 99-114.

Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. The discovery of grounded theory. Chicago: Aldine, 1967.

Gray, S. W., & Klaus, R. A. The early training project: A 7th year report. Child Development, 1970, 41, 902-924.

Hobbs, N. The futures of children; Categories, labels, and their consequences. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1975.

Hunt, J. McV. Intelligence and experience. New York: Ronald Press, 1961.

Improving education through ESEA: Twelve stories. Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, January 1970. (ED 037 829)

Katz, M. Class, bureaucracy, and schools (expanded edition). New York: Praeger, 1975.

Kirk, S. A. Early education of the mentally retarded. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1958.

Kirschner Associates, Inc. A national survey of the impacts of Head Start centers on community institutions. Washington, D.C.: Office of Child Development, May 1970.

Kuhn, T. S. The structure of scientific revolutions (2nd ed.). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970.

Lewin, K. Behavior and development as a function of the total situation. In L. Carmichael (Ed.), Manual of child psychology. New York: Wiley, 1954.

Looff, D. H. Appalachia's children: The challenge of mental health. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1971.

Matthews, E. M. Neighbor and kin. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1966.

McNair, R. E. The Appalachian regional commission. Compact, 1970, 4(2), 20-22.

Mead, G. H. Mind, self and society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934.

Mercer, J. Labeling the mentally retarded; Clinical and social systems perspectives on mental retardation. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973.

Mishler, E. G. Meaning in context: Is there any other kind? Harvard Educational Review, 1979, 49, 1-19.

Moe, E. O., & Tamblyn, L. R. Rural schools as a mechanism for development. Austin, Texas: National Education Association, 1974.

Moroney, R. M. The family and the state; Considerations for social policy. London: Longman, 1976.

Parsons, T. The social system. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1951.

Photiadis, J. D. Rural southern Appalachia and mass society. In J. D. Photiadis & H. K. Schwarzweller (Eds.), Change in rural Appalachia; Implications for action programs. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971.

Piaget, J. The psychology of intelligence (M. Piercy & D. E. Berlyne, trans.). London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1947.

Piaget, J. The origins of intelligence in children (2nd ed.). New York: International Universities Press, 1952.

P.L. 89-4. Appalachian Regional Development Act, March 9, 1965.

P.L. 89-10. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, April 11, 1965.

P.L. 90-538. Handicapped Children's Early Education Assistance Act, September 30, 1968.

P.L. 92-424. Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1972.

P.L. 94-142. The Education of All Handicapped Children Act of 1975, November 23, 1975.

P.L. 95-561, Education Amendments of 1978, November 1, 1978.

Puzzuoli, D. A., & Fazzaro, C. J. Project ERA: A three year study of a follow through program; A longitudinal study of the Monongalia County follow through program. Monongalia County Board of Education. Morgantown, West Virginia, December 1970. (ED 048 948)

Schutz, A. Collected papers, vols. I and II. The Hague: Nijhoff, 1962.

Schwarzweller, H. K., & Brown, J. S. Education as a cultural bridge between Appalachian Kentucky and the great society. In J. D. Photiadis & H. K. Schwarzweller (Eds.), Change in rural Appalachia; Implications for action programs. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971, pp. 129-148.

Selznick, P. TVA and the grass roots: A study in the sociology of formal organization. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949.

Skinner, V. P. Mountaineers aren't really illiterate. Southern Education Report, 1967, 3, 18-19.

Steiner, G. Y. The children's cause. Washinton, D. C.: The Brookings Institution, 1976.

Stufflebeam, D. L., Foley, W. J., Gephart, W. J., Guba, E. G., Hammond, R. L., Merriman, H. O., & Provus, M. M. Educational evaluation and decision making. Itasca, Illinois: Peacock, 1971.

Suchman, E. A. Action for what? A critique of evaluative research. In C. H. Weiss (Ed.), Evaluating action programs: Readings in social action and education. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1972.

The people left behind. A report by the President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty. Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, September 1967.

Thomas, W. I., & Znaniecki, F. The Polish peasant in Europe and North America. New York: Knopf, 1927.

Title I ESEA: How it works; A guide for parents and parent advisory councils. Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973.

Toward Equal Educational Opportunity. The report of the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, U.S. Senate, Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office. February 19, 1970. (ED 072 153)

Tracy, D. F. & Pizzo, P. D. The state of the child in Appalachia: Report of a conference. Berea, Kentucky: Save the Children Federation, January 1977.

Vidich, A. J., & Bensman, J. Small town in mass society: Class, power, and religion in a rural community. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958.

Weber, M. The theory of social and economic organization (Henderson, A. M. & Parsons, T., trans.). Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1947.

Weikart, D. P. Preschool intervention. Ann Arbor: Campus Publications, 1967.

Weiss, C. H. Between the cup and the lip. Evaluation, 1973, 1(2), 49-55.

Weller, J. E. Yesterday's people: Life in contemporary Appalachia. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965.

White, S. H. Federal programs for young children: Review and recommendations. Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973.

Wilson, S. The use of ethnographic techniques in educational research. Review of Educational Research, 1977, 47, 245-265.

Zigler, E. Mental retardation: Current issues and approaches. In L. W. Hoffman & M. L. Hoffman (Eds.), Review of child development research, vol. 2. New York: Russell Sage, 1966, pp. 107-168.

APPENDIX

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION ON THREE COUNTIES

	1974 population	1970 population	1960 population	1950 population	% change in total population 1960-1970	% change in rural population 1960-1970	Population projection for 1990	Children 0-5 yrs. population 1970
Hickory County	15,500	14,866	14,661	17,566	1.4%	-0.2%	13,773	1443
Winchester County	39,900	35,487	29,236	29,869	21.4	-1.0	37,406	3129
Pike County	29,700	26,972	23,102	22,271	16.8	15.8	34,786	2809
State	--	--	--	--	10.0	-6.0	--	--
U.S.	--	--	--	--	13.0	-3.6	--	--
Source	State Planning Office	U.S. Census	U.S. Census	U.S. Census	U.S. Census	U.S. Census	University of (State)	U.S. Census

	Children 0-4 yrs. population change 1960-1970	Children 0-5 yrs. living with one parent 1970	% children 0-5 yrs. living with one parent 1970	Migration as % of population 1950-1960	Migration as % of population 1960-1970	Population per square mile 1970	Average family size 1960	Average family size 1970
Hickory County	-14.8%	148	10.3%	-28.2%	-6.1%	33.9	3.68	3.19
Winchester County	- 4.2	375	11.3	-15.5	11.7	87.4	3.41	2.97
Pike County	- 1.2	396	14.1	- 9.1	6.2	61.0	3.41	3.08
State	-17.5	--	--	- 8.3	-1.1	94.0	3.74	3.52
U.S.	-13.6	--	--	--	--	--	3.67	3.58
Source	U.S. Census	U.S. Census	U.S. Census	U.S. Census	U.S. Census	U.S. Census	U.S. Census	U.S. Census

	% of families below poverty level 1970	per capita personal income 1972	% change in per capita income 1959-1972	Average weekly wage 1974	Average weekly wage in manufacturing	% employed in manufacturing	% employed in agriculture and forestry	% employed outside of county of residence
Hickory County	35.9%	$2,249	220.8%	$104	397	44.28%	8.4%	20.8%
Winchester County	23.3	2,855	166.8	136	142	30.73	3.85	7.5
Pike County	20.1	3,323	186.2	138	144	40.47	9.3	10.4
State	18.2	3,671	139.6	165	176	30.64	4.25	--
U.S.	10.7	4,492	107.9	--	--	--	--	--
Source	U.S. Census	Bureau of Economic Analysis	Bureau of Economic Analysis	Dept. of Employment Security	Dept. of Employment Security	U.S. Census	U.S. Census	U.S. Census

	% of teachers with M.A. or higher 1974	Functional illiteracy rate 1970	Live birth rate per 1,000 population 1970	Infant death rate per 1,000 live births 1970	Population per physician 1970	Population per registered nurse 1970	% of housing lacking some or all facilities 1970	Median Education for persons 25 yrs. and older 1970
Hickory County	19.9%	15.9%	14.5	23.3	2,478	1,144	41.7%	8.3 yrs.
Winchester County	35.9	12.9	16.8	11.2	1,479	825	18.7	8.8
Pike County	29.7	9.0	18.0	23.4	2,697	1,349	19.3	9.3
State	27.5	9.5	18.4	20.6	1,055	464	14.8	10.6
U.S.	--	5.5	--	--	--	--	7.4	12.1
Source	SEA, 1974	U.S. Census	Dept. of Public Health	Dept. of Public Health	Dept. of Public Health	Dept. of Public Health	U.S. Census	U.S. Census